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HISTORY OF HINDU CHEMISTRY

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HISTORY OF HINDU CHEMISTRY

FROM
THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY A. D.,

WITH
SANSKRIT TEXTS, VARIANTS, TRANSLATION
AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

Since the days of Sir W. Jones, Sanskrit literature, in almost every department, has been zealously ransacked by scholars, both European and Indian. As the results of their labours we are now in possession of ample facts and data, which enable us to form some idea of the knowledge of the Hindus of old in the fields of Philosophy and Mathematics including Astronomy, Arithmetic, Algebra, Trigonometry and Geometry. Even Medicine has received some share of attention. Wilson in a series of essays published in the *Oriental Magazine* (1823), Royle in his *Antiquity of Hindu Medicine* (1837), and Wise in his commentary on the *Hindu System of Medicine* (1845), were amongst the first to bring to the notice of the European world the contents of the ancient medical works of the Hindus, and recently the Thakur Sahib of Gondal has added his quota. These contributions are, however, of a fragmentary nature. A comprehensive history of Hindu medicine has yet to be written. Materia Medica has also found, in Uday Chand Dutt, an able exponent. One branch has, however, up till this time, remained entirely neglected—namely, Chemistry. Indeed, it may be assumed that on account of its complex and technical nature it has hitherto repelled investigators.

The progress of chemical knowledge among the ancient nations has always had a fascination for me. The classical works of Thomson, Hoefer and Kopp have been my favourite companions for the last twelve years and more. In the course of my studies in this field I was naturally led to an inquiry into the exact position which India occupies therein, and with this view I undertook a systematic examination, from the chemical standpoint, of the Charaka, the Susruta and the various standard works of the Ayurvedic and Iatro-chemical Periods, which have escaped the ravages of time. It was at this stage that I was brought into communication with M. Berthelot some five years ago—a circumstance which has proved to be a turning point, if I may so say, in my career as a student of the history of chemistry. The illustrious French savant, the *Doyen* of the chemical world, who has done more than any other person to clear up the sources and trace the progress of chemical science in the West, expressed a strong desire to know all about the contributions of the Hindus,* and even went

* "Cependant il serait nécessaire d'examiner certains documents qui m'ont été récemment signalés par une lettre de Rây, professeur à Presidency College (Calcutta). D'après ce savant, il existe des traités d'alchimie, écrits en sanscrit, remontant au XIII^e

the length of making a personal appeal to me to help him with information on the subject. In response to his sacred call I submitted to him, in 1898, a short monograph on Indian alchemy; it was based chiefly on *Rasendrasāra Samgraha*, a work which I have since then found to be of minor importance and not calculated to throw much light on the vexed question as to the origin of Hindu Chemistry. M. Berthelot not only did me the honour of reviewing it at length† but very kindly presented me with a complete set of his monumental work, in three volumes, on the chemistry of the Middle Ages, dealing chiefly with the Arabic and Syrian contributions on the subject, the very existence of which I was not till then aware of. On perusing the contents of these works I was filled with the ambition of supplementing them with one on Hindu Chemistry. Although I have written all along under the inspiration of a master mind, it is not for a moment pretended that my humble production will at all make an approach to the exemplar set before my eyes.

When I first drew up the scheme of the present work, I had deluded myself with the hope of finishing the study of all the available literature on the subject before I took to writing. But I soon found that the task was one of vast magnitude. Some of my friends, whose judgment is entitled to weight, advised me under the circumstances, to curtail the scope of the work as originally planned out, and present a first instalment of it in its necessarily defective and imperfect shape (see Introduction, p. xlix), reserving for a subsequent volume the working up of the materials which are accumulating from time to time. In the present volume only one or two representative works of the Tantric and Iatro-chemical Periods have been noticed at length.

As regards the transliteration, I have not rigidly adhered to any particular system, but, in the main, I have followed that of the *Sacred Books of the East*.

Before concluding, I must acknowledge the valuable assistance I have received from Pandit Navakānta Kavibhūshana with whom I have toiled

siècle, et qui renferment des préceptes pour préparer les sulfures de mercure noir et rouge et le calomel employés comme médicaments. Ces indications s'accordent avec celles des alchimistes arabes signalées plus haut. Il est à désirer que ces traités soient soumis à une étude approfondie, pour en déterminer l'origine, probablement attribuable à une tradition persane ou nestorienne."—JOURNAL DE SAVANTS, Oct., 1897.

† "*Matériaux pour un chapitre négligé de l'histoire de la Chimie ou contributions à l'Alchimie indienne* (Mémoire manuscrit de 43 pages), par Prafulla Chandra Rây, professeur à Presidency College, Calcutta".—*Ind. JOURNAL DE SAVANTS*, April, 1898.

through many an obscure passage of the Mss. of the *Tantras*. His sound knowledge of the *Ayurvedas* has also been of much help to me.

It would be invidious to single out any particular name amongst my circle of friends and pupils, who have ungrudgingly lent their services, whenever required, either in the transcribing of the copy or in revising proofs. I am, however, bound to make an exception in the case of my esteemed friend, Mr. Prithvīsa Chandra Rāy, author of the *Poverty Problem in India*, and proprietor of the Cherry Press, who has all along taken a personal interest in the execution of my work, and who has done every thing in his power in piloting it through the press, notwithstanding the peculiar difficulties which the use of a large variety of special types have necessarily involved. Mr. Mohini Mohana Ghosha, Manager of the Cherry Press, has also laid me under deep obligations in this respect.

And now it only remains for me to discharge the grateful duty of expressing my thanks to the Government of Bengal, which at the instance of Mr. Alexander Pedler, F. R. S., Director of Public Instruction, placed a liberal grant at my disposal to enable me to meet various incidental expenses, chiefly in the matter of collecting rare Mss.

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE :
Calcutta, June 1st, 1902, }

P. C. RĀY.

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THE AYURVEDIC PERIOD

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Introduction

CHAPTER I

Alchemical Ideas in the Vedas

IN tracing the progress of chemical knowledge among the civilized nations of old, one always finds it intimately associated with medicinal preparations, metallurgical operations, the technical arts and the belief in the transmutation of metals. In India, more so than in Europe, chemistry has, however, been evolved chiefly as a handmaid of medicine ; and, somewhat later on, as an adjunct of the Tantric cult. The efficacy of the drug alone was by no means considered sufficient unless backed by the kindly interposition of the deities. Thus in the *Rigveda* we find the Asvins, the divine physicians, invoked, who give sight to the blind and make the lame walk. These twin gods have many points in common with the Dioskouroi of Greek mythology. One very curious myth is that of the maiden Vispala who, having had her leg cut off in some conflict, was at once furnished by the Asvins with an iron limb.

Dawn of
Hindu Al-
chemy.

The higher gods of the *Rigveda* are almost entirely personifications of the elements and the other natural phenomena, such as the fire and the wind, the sun and the dawn. But we often find also herbs and plants endowed with potent and active properties, raised to the dignities of the gods and addressed as such.

The Soma plant is an object of particular adoration and the Vedic worshippers are in ecstasy over the exhilarating effects of the fermented juice expressed from it.¹ The Soma *rasa* (juice) began even to be regarded as the *amrita*; this immortal draught, allied to the Greek *ambrosia*, is "the stimulant which conferred immortality upon the gods.....it is medicine for a sick man and the god Soma heals whatever is sick." It will be seen later on that in the Soma *rasa* and its attributes we have the dawn of Hindu Alchemy (*I'ide* pp. 43-44).

Other plants were likewise invoked as divinities. Thus one entire hymn is devoted to the praise of plants (*oshadhi*) alone, mainly with regard to their healing powers.²

Again, in another hymn we read: "O King

(1) See Roth; Ueber den Soma: Zeit. deut. morg. Ges. XXXV. pp. 680-692; also *ibid*, XXXVIII. 134-139: Wo wächst der Soma? And Windischmann; Ueber den Somacultus der Arier; Abhand. d. Münch. AK. d. Wiss. IV. B. Abh. 2.

(2) One or two typical hymns may be quoted here :—

या औषधीः पुष्पां जाता देवेभ्यस्त्रियुगं पुरा ।

सनौ नु वभूणामहं शतं धामानि सत च ॥

शतं वो अश्व धामानि महसमुत वो रुहः । X. 97. 1.

अथा शतकृत्वी यूयमिमं मे अगदं कृत ॥ *ibid.*, 2.

Sāyana's commentary to the above is :—

या औषधयः पुष्पाः पुरातन्यः जाताः उत्तमाः, केभ्यः सकाशात् ? देवेभ्यः । यथा देवाः द्योतमानाः ऋतवः, तेभ्यः । कस्मिन् काले ? त्रियुगं त्रिषु युगेषु प्रादुर्भावापेक्षया कृतादियुगत्रयमुक्तं, कलौ तु अत्यन्तात्यन्तात् उपेक्षितम् । अथवा त्रिषु युगेषु वसन्ति प्रादृष्टि शरदि चैवयः । अहं वभूणां वभूवणां मासाद्यौषधीनां शतं सत च धामानि अनुलपसाजनाभिपेक्षादिरूपेण आश्रयभूतानि स्थानानि तु त्रिप्रं सनौ सन्त्यं संभावयामौययः ।

हे अश्व सातरः औषधयः वो युष्माकं धामानि स्थानानि जन्मानि वा शतं अपरिमितानि : उतापि च वो युष्माकं रुहः प्ररीहः प्रौढगन्धः महस्यपरिमितः । अथा अपि च हे शतकृत्वः हे शतकर्माणः यूयमिमं मे सा सदीयं वा जनं आश्रययन् अगदं गदः रोगः तदरहितं कृत कुरुत ।

Varuṇa ! a hundred and a thousand medicinal drugs are thine."

It is in the *Atharva-veda*, however, that plants and vegetable products in general are fully recognised as helpful agents in the treatment of diseases, though their use is invariably associated with the employment of charms, spells, and incantations. Thus the plant *apāmārga* (*Achyranthes aspera*), which still occupies a prominent place in the Hindu system of medicine as a di-uretic and laxative etc., is invoked as the "mistress of remedies" (IV. 17, 1.) and "sole ruler over all plants." In another hymn the Soma plant is thus referred to :—

"The strength of this amṛita (ambrosia) do we give this man to drink. Moreover, I prepare a remedy, that he may live a hundred years!"

Again, "as many (plants), as the human physicians know to contain a remedy, so many, endowed with every healing quality, do I apply to thee!"¹ Here is a spell for the cure of leprosy by means of a dark-coloured plant :—

Born in the night art thou, O herb.
Dark-coloured, sable, black of hue :
Rich-tinted, tinge this leprosy,
And stain away its spots of grey ! (I. 23, 1).

—*Macdonell*

There is also a distinct reference to a remedy for promoting the growth of hair.

"As a goddess upon the goddess earth thou wast born, O plant ! We dig thee up, O nitatnī, that thou mayest strengthen (the growth) of the hair.

(1.) Bloomfield : *Hymns of the Atharva-veda* pp. 43-44.

"Strengthen the (old hair), beget the new !
That which has come forth render more luxuri-
ous !" VI. 136. 1, 2.

The Healing
Arts differen-
tiated

Although in the Vedic age caste as a heredi-
tary system did not exist, the healing arts had
evidently acquired sufficient importance to be
pursued by particular members of the patriarchal
families. Thus with that charming simplicity
which is the characteristic beauty of the *Rig-
veda*, one *Rishi* says pathetically of himself :

"Behold I am a composer of hymns, my
father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on
stone. We are all engaged in different occupa-
tions!" (IX. 112, 3).

"Princes like Divodāsa, and bards and lead-
ers of the tribe of the Angiras, administered
medicines and gloried in effecting cures. A
skilled physician is distinctly defined as one who
lives in a place abounding with medicinal plants,
and who assiduously devotes his time to the
acquisition of knowledge²."

The earliest
literary record
of Indian
Medicine.

Thus not only in the *Atharvan* but even in
the *Rik*, we can trace the earliest literary record
of Indian Medicine.

The *Atharva-veda* deals chiefly with sorcery,
witch-craft and demonology. There are deadly
imprecations against evil-doers ; magical incan-
tations for bringing about ruin, death, dementa-
tion and stupefaction of one's adversaries ; and
charms intended to secure the love of women
through the potency of various herbs. Some of

(1) R. C. Dutt : *Civilisation in ancient India*, p. 65. (Calc. ed.)

(2) Introduction to the *Astāṅgahridaya* of Vāgbhata, by Annā
Morsvar Kunte, B. A., M. D., p. 2.

them are of hostile character, being meant to injure rivals. The picture here presented has its counterpart in the ancient Egyptians, who were noted for their magical lore to which the Greeks were no less attached. There is a close resemblance between the contents of the *A. V.* and those of the Papyrus of Leyden in some essential features. In the latter also there is an intermixture of magic, astrology, alchemy as well as recipes for love philters.¹

The *A. V.*, on account of its frequent calling-in-aid of super-natural agencies for selfish and malevolent purposes, has not generally been accorded the canonical sanctity of the Vedic Triad—The *Rik*, the *Yajus* and the *Sāman* ; the very authority of the fourth *Veda* as a scripture has been questioned in the several law-books of the *Apastamba*, the *Vishnu*, the *Yājñavalka* and the *Manu* schools, and the practices it sanctions strongly condemned.

As Hindu medicine has seldom been able to shake itself completely free from the influence of magic and alchemy as auxiliaries, physicians, as practicers of the "black art," have been given an inferior position in the legal treatises. The *Mahābhārata*, reflecting the spirit of the above law-books, regards the physicians as impure. In spite of this "the *Atharvan* retains in a measure its place by virtue of its profound hold upon popular beliefs, because the *Atharvan* performs, especially for the king, inestimable

(1) The reader may compare this portion with Berthelot's *Les Origines de l'Alchimie*, pp. 81-83.

services in the injury and overthrow of enemies." ¹

Rasāyana or
Alchemy.

In the *A. I.*, the hymns for the cure of diseases and possession by demons of disease are known as *bhaishajyāni*, while those which have for their object the securing of long life and health are known as *āyushyāni*—a term which later on gave place to *rasāyana*, the Sanskrit equivalent of alchemy (see p. 44). We shall quote two under the latter heading as invocations to pearl and its shell and gold respectively. "Born in the heavens, born in the sea, brought on from the river (Sindhu), this shell, born of gold, is life-prolonging amulet."

"The bone of the gods turned into pearl; that, animated, dwells in the waters. That do I fasten upon thee unto life, lustre, strength, longevity, unto a life lasting a hundred autumns. May the (amulet) of pearl protect thee!"

"The gold which is born from fire,² the immortal, they bestowed upon the mortals. He who knows this deserves it: of old age dies he who wears it."

"The gold, (endowed by) the sun with beautiful colour, which the men of yore, rich in descendants, did desire, may it gleaming envelop thee in lustre! Long-lived becomes he who wears it!"

While gold is regarded as the elixir of life, lead is looked upon as the dispeller of sorcery:

(1) Bloomfield's *Hymns of the Atharva-veda*:—Introduction, p. XLVI.

(2) Among the five kinds of gold referred to in *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* (p. 58, वज्रसम्भूतं born from fire) is one.

"To the lead Varuza gives blessing, to the lead Agni gives help. Indra gave me the lead : unfailingly it dispels sorcery." ¹

It is of interest to note the alchemical notions which had gathered round gold and lead ² at the time of the *A. V.*

To the student of Hindu medicine and alchemy, the *A. V.* is thus of special interest as the earliest repository of information on the subject.

CHAPTER II.

The Ayurvedic Period.

WE now alight upon a period when we find the Hindu system of medicine methodised and arranged on a rational basis, with a scientific terminology.

The Hindu system of medicine methodised and arranged on a rational basis.

The two great works of this period are the Charaka and the Susruta. In them we find the study of the subject to have been made a distinct advance and to have evolved out of the chaotic state it was in during the Vedic period. Of the two, the Charaka is by far the more ancient. ³

The Charaka and the Susruta.

(1) The quotations are from Bloomfield's *A. V.* pp. 62-65.

(2) In the alchemy of the West, lead, as is well known, is associated not with beneficent but "Saturnine" influences.

(3) Cf. "The theological doctrine of the nature of disease indicated its means of cure. For Hippocrates was reserved the great glory of destroying them both, replacing them by more practical and material ideas, and, from the votive tablets, traditions, and other sources, together with his own admirable observations, compiling a body of medicine. The necessary consequence of his great success was the separation of the pursuits of the physician from those of the priest. Not that so great a revolution, implying the diversion of profitable gains from the ancient channel, could have been accomplished without a struggle. We should reverence the memory of Hippocrates for the complete manner in which he

There must have been a wide gap between the age of the *A. V.* and that of the Charaka—an interval of probably a thousand years or more. In the latter the humoral pathology is fully developed, the diagnosis and prognosis of diseases described at length, and an elaborate mode of classification adopted. We have seen above that the physicians were assigned rather an inferior status in society; the healing art was, in fact, never recognised as a division of the Vedas.¹ Still the claims of the indispensable science of medicine, which can be distinctly traced to the *A. V.*, could not altogether be ignored, and ultimately a compromise was arrived at. In the Charaka itself the Science of Life (*Ayurveda*) is regarded as a secondary or subsidiary branch (*upāṅga*) of the *Atharvan* and as a direct revelation of the gods (sūtra. Ch. XXX. 8-9).

The Sūsruta even goes a step further and asserts that the self-existent (*Brahmā*) created *Ayurveda*, as an *upāṅga* of the *Atharvan* (sūtra. I. 3.)

The age of
Charaka.

We shall now concern ourselves with finding the time of Charaka within approximate limits. The task is not a light one, as it is one of the most abstruse questions of Indian chronology.

M. Sylvain Lévi has recently unearthed

effected that object.”—Draper’s Hist. of the Intellect. Dev. in Europe, I. p. 393 (ed. 1896). The services rendered by Charaka, Susruta and their predecessors were equally valuable.

(1) The six *limbs* or divisions of the Vedas are *sikṣhā* (phonetics), *kalpa* (ceremoniai), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *nirukta* (etymology), *chhandas* (metre) and *jyotiṣa* (astronomy).

from the Chinese *Tripitaka* the name of a physician named Charaka, who was attached as spiritual guide to the Indo-Scythian King Kanishka, who reigned in the second century A. D. The French Orientalist would have this Charaka as the author of the famous Hindu medical work, specially as it would offer an easy explanation of the supposed Greek influence discernible in it.

“Les éléments traditionnels mis en œuvre par les conteurs peuvent se résumer ainsi : le roi devaputra Kanishka, de la race des Kushanas, règne sur les Yue-tchi, sept cents ans après le Nirvāṇa ; il est assisté de ministres éminents, nommés Devadharma et Mādhara. Le bodhisattva Asvaghosha est son conseiller spirituel ; l'illustre médecin Charaka est attaché à sa personne.”

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“La mention de Charaka est la première indication positive obtenue sur la date du savant praticien qui dispute à Susruta la gloire d'avoir fondé la science médicale dans l'Inde. Les influences grecques qu'on avait cru reconnaître dans les doctrines de Charaka s'expliquent aisément, s'il est vrai que ce grand médecin vivait au temps et à la cour des Indo-Scythes, alors que l'hellénisme semblait pénétrer en vainqueur dans la vieille civilisation brahmanique.”

—Journ. Asiatique (1896), T. VIII. pp. 447-51.

We confess we are by no means convinced of M. Lévi's theory. If we are to go by *name* alone, we can claim a still higher antiquity for our author. The appellation of Charaka occurs in Vedic literature as a patronymic ; in short, Pāṇini felt it necessary to compose a special *sūtra* for deriving the “Charakās” i.e. the

followers of Charaka.¹ Then again, Patañjali, who is now generally admitted to have lived in the second century B. C., is known to have written a commentary on the medical work of Charaka, thus further proving the antiquity of our author ;² and both Chakrapāṇi and Bhoja agree in alluding to him as the redactor of Charaka.³ Indeed, in such matters we would do well to set store by native traditions. It would be beside our purpose, however, to enter into any lengthy discussion on the grounds on which we are inclined to place Charaka in the pre-Buddhistic era, but we shall summarise below the salient points.

Evidence
based upon
the handling
of the subject-
matter,

In the handling of the subject-matter the Charaka is not so systematic as the Susruta, but indulges in random, hap-hazard and irrelevant discourses, which make the reader often lose the thread of the main narrative. The author, whenever he has an opportunity, boldly and with evident relish, launches into metaphysical disquisitions, which, he believes, make up for lack of experiments and observations.⁴ In this respect the Susruta is far more scientific than the Charaka. The Nyāya and the Vaisesika systems of phi-

(1) कठचरकाल्लुक् । 4. 3. 107.

(2) आनी नाम अनुभवेन वस्तुतत्त्वस्य कार्त्तृत्वेन निश्चयवान्, रागादिवशादपि नान्यथावादी यः स इति चरके पतञ्जलिः । Quoted in the *Laghu Mañjushā* of Nāgeva Bhatta.

(3) पातञ्जल-सहाभाष्य-चरकप्रतिमंस्कृतैः ।

मनीषाक्-कायदीपाणां हवँऽहिपतये नमः ॥

Vide Salutation in the commentary named आयुर्वेददीपिका on the Charaka by Chakrapāṇi.

(4) This has given ample scope to a recent commentator, the late Kavirāja Gangādhara Kaviratna, who in his ज्ञान्यकान्यतरं, surpasses Charaka himself in philosophical dissertations.

losophy, which have been interwoven into the body of the text, again remind us of a stage when they were more or less in a state of flux, but had not crystallised into the well-defined form and shape of the sūtras in which they have come down to us—this also goes towards proving the high antiquity of the Charaka.¹

Again, only Vedic gods and *mantras* figure in the Charaka, not a trace of Pauranic mythology being discernible in it.² Charaka follows closely the Vedic authority³ in counting the number of bones in the human body ; the limit of childhood he takes to be thirty years—quite in keeping with the conception of the heroic age.

Absence of
Pauranic my-
thology

It should, however, be borne in mind

(1) The Nyāya of Gotama enumerates 16 padārthas (categories), while Charaka under his (medical) disputation, वादसार्ग, mentions 44 categories (*Vide Vīmāna*. Ch. VIII. 22., also A. C. Kaviratna's Eng. trans. pp. 564-65). Bodas in his learned Introduction to the *Turkasamgraha* of Annambhatta (pp. 12-14) places the aphorisms of Gotama and Kauāda in the period between 400 B. C. to 500 A. D.

(2) The names of *Krishna* and *Vāsudeva* occur in a salutation in the supplement added by *Dridavala*. (*Chikitsita*, Ch. 21. 92-93. ed. Gaṅgādhara). But *Krishna*-worship was in vogue at the time of *Pāṇini* ; 4. 3. 98. See also Lassen's *Alterthumskunde* 1. p. 648. Bühler also points out that "the earlier history of the purāṇas, which as yet is a mystery, will only be cleared up when a real history of the orthodox Hindu sects, especially of the Sivites and Vishnuites, has been written. It will, then, probably become apparent that the origin of these sects reaches back far beyond the rise of Buddhism and Jainism."—Intro. to *Apastumbha*, &c. p. XXIX.

(3) Namely 360 ; *Sārira*. Ch. VII, 5. According to the *Institutes of Vishnu* "it (the human frame) is kept together by three hundred and sixty bones" (XCVI. 55). This has been adduced by Jolly as a "reason in favour of the high antiquity of its laws." *Vide* Intro. to *Vishnu*, pp. XVIII-XX.

that the Charaka, as we now possess it, can by no means lay claim to be the first comprehensive and systematic treatise on Hindu medicine, it represents rather a more or less final development of the subject, just as the elaborate grammar of Pāṇini is based upon some twenty previous works of his predecessors, notably of Yāska, Sākalya, Sākatatāyana, Gārgya and others.

and internal
evidence.

Of internal evidence the first notable feature is the style.

The simple, unvarnished prose of the Charaka reminds one of the *Brāhmanas* of the Vedas. Thanks to the researches of Bühler and Fleet, we have now some idea of the prose *Kābṛya* style as it existed in the second century A. D. The literary prose inscriptions discovered at Gīrnār and Nāsik, although less ornate and artificial than the romances of Subandhu and Vāna (seventh century A. D.), abound in long-winded metaphors and alliterations and thus stand in bold contrast with the simple prose of the Charaka.

Between the period of the *A. V.* and that of the Charaka there must have been composed several medical treatises, each reflecting the spirit and progress of its age. At the time of the Charaka itself there existed at least six standard works by Agnivesa, Bhela, Jātukarṇa, Parāśara, Hārīta, and Kshārāpāṇi, respectively. Charaka simply based his work on that of Agnivesa,¹ which he completely recast and re-

(1) Charaka himself naively assigns his reasons for giving preference to the treatise of Agnivesa in the words :—"of the six (authors) Agnivesa was the most "sharp of intellect" (sūtra. Ch. I. 2.)

modelled. Later on, Dridavala added the last forty-one chapters.¹ The other five works seem to have perished.² Vāgbhata, the epitomiser of the Charaka and the Susruta, mentions the works of Hārīta and Bhela, which were probably extant in his days.

On reading the Charaka, one often feels as if it embodies the deliberations of an international Congress of medical experts, held in the Himālayan regions to which even distant Balkh (Bactriana) sent a representative in the person of Kāmkhāyana (see p. 13). The work professes to be more or less of the nature of a record of the Proceedings of such a Congress.³

Bodas in discussing the philosophical disquisitions of the *Brāhmanas* observes :

“It was a special function of the *Brahmā* priest to give decisions on any disputed points that may arise in the course of a sacrifice, and this he could not have

(1) विस्तारयति लेशीकं संक्षिपत्यतिविस्तरम् ।

संस्कृतीं कुरुते तन्त्रं पराणं च पुनर्नवम् ॥ *Siddhi*. Ch. XII. 28.

Also *Chikitsita*. Ch. XXX. 112 : ed. D. N. Sen and U. N. Sen.

(2) Cf. “We know how often in India the appearance of a convenient abstract has led to the neglect and subsequent loss of all earlier works on the subject.”—Intro. to Stein’s *Rajatarāṅginī*, p. 25. In Burnell’s Tanjore catalogue Pt. I. pp. 63-65, a full analysis is given of *Bhelasamhita*, from which it would appear that this work is still extant, though in a mutilated form. Dr. Burnell remarks ; “the most superficial comparison shows how much Vagbhata was indebted to this ancient work.”

An *Hārīta Samhitā* has recently been published ; but its authenticity is questionable.

(3) Cf. “La lecture de cet ouvrage nous initie aux comptendus de véritables congrès philosophiques et médicaux, dans lesquels des maîtres accourus des points les plus éloignés de l’Inde et même de l’étranger, prennent successivement la parole.”—Quelques Données Nouvelles a propos des Traités médicaux Sanscrits antérieurs au XIIIe siècle, P. Cordier, p. 3.

done unless he was a master of ratiocination. Such decisions, which may be likened to the chairman's rulings in a modern assembly, are scattered through the ancient *Brāhmanas*, and are collected together as so many *Nyāyas* in the *Pūrva Mīmāṃsā* aphorisms of *Jaimini*.¹

We would invite the reader to go through the "Discourse on the Tastes" (pp. 13-15) and he will naturally agree that the above remarks apply with equal force to our author. In short, judging both from the manner and the matter of the work, we have little hesitation in placing it in the pre-Buddhistic era. We shall revert to the subject under *Susruta*.

The age of
Susruta.

As regards the *Susruta* we are on more solid grounds. Its terminology and *technique*, in general, do not differ much from those of the *Charaka*. In style the *Susruta* is rather dry, pithy, laconic, and matter-of-fact, as the *Charaka* is discursive and diffuse, and its composition altogether would point to a much later date. This is easily accounted for. The *Susruta*, such as has been preserved to us, is generally held to be a comparatively modern recension by the celebrated Buddhist Chemist, *Nāgārjuna*,² who is said to have added the *Uttaratantra* or the Supplement.³ Here for the first time in the

(1) Intro. to *Annamibhatta's Tarkasamgraha*, p. 28.

(2) "यत्र यत्र परीक्षितं तत्रैव प्रतिमस्कर्तृमूर्च्छातयमिति
प्रतिमस्कर्त्तापीड नागार्जुन एव ।" *Vide Dalvaṇa's commentary.*

(3) Cf. "It is said by *Dalvaṇāchārya*, the commentator of *Susruta*, that at the time of war between the *Bauddhas* and *Hindus*, the *Susrutatāntra* was re-edited and rendered more comprehensive by the renowned chemist *Siddhanāgārjuna* with a supplement called *uttaratantra*. Since that period it has been known

history of Hindu Medicine and Chemistry, we come across a personage who is historical rather than mythical (see below). That the redactor thoroughly recast and remodelled the Susruta is evident from the fact that there are numerous passages in it which agree almost *verbatim* with the Charaka, and which appears to have been amply laid under contribution.

The Susruta is *par excellence* a treatise on surgery ¹ as the Charaka is on medicine proper. Ancient India must have acquired considerable skill in the handling of the lancet; for in the Charaka we find a distinction drawn between the *Kāyachikitsakas*, *i. e.* the physicians properly so called, and the *Dhanvantvarisampradāyas* *i. e.* followers of Dhanvantarī or the Chirurgeons—a distinction which we have already seen in the beginning of the Vedic Age.

The age of Susruta has been the subject of animated controversy for a long time past. The Hindus regard this branch of Ayurveda as a direct revelation from the Asvins or the Divine Surgeons (see p. i, intro.). The origin of this myth can be traced to the *Rigveda* as already seen. In the *Mahābhārata*, Susruta is spoken of as the son of the sage Visvāmitra and in the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana (about 4th century B. C.) we also find mention of the same name. It is not, however, easy to estab-

by the name of Susruta Samhita." Introduction to *Vaidyaka-sabdhasindhu* p. 6. by Kavirāja Umesachandra Gupta Kaviratna.

(1) For a description of the surgical instruments with Drawings, see Wise : *Commentary on the Hindu System of medicine*, (1845) pp. 168-170.

lish any connection between these names and our present author. That there was a *Vṛid-dha* (old) *Susruta*, existing as early as the fifth century A. D., has now been established almost beyond doubt. Dr. Hoernle, to whose profound scholarship and indefatigable labours the world is indebted for the excellent edition of the Bower Ms., has deduced from palæographic evidence that it must have been copied within the period from about 400 A. D. to 500 A. D.¹—a conclusion at which Prof. Bühler has independently arrived. The work professes to be by *Susruta*, to whom it was declared by the Muni *Kāśirāja*. The origin of the *Ayurveda* as given in the Bower Ms. is on much the same lines as in the *Charaka* and the mention in it, among others, of such names as *Hārīta*, *Bhela*, *Parāśara*, and the *Asvins* as founders of the science of medicine, would go to prove that even so early as the 5th century A. D., the old *Susruta* had come to be regarded as of mythical origin, and that therefore it must have been composed many centuries anterior to that time. Several important recipes as given in the Bower Ms., e.g. those of the *chyavanaprāsa*, *śilajātuprayoga* (the doctrine of bitumen p. 28) etc., occur in practically identical recensions in the *Charaka*. This is easily accounted for. The *Charaka*, the *Susruta*, and the Bower Ms., and even the *Astāṅgahrīdaya* of *Vāgbhaṭa* have more or less a common basis or substratum. In order to understand this

(1) On the date of the Bower Ms., See Journ. As. Soc.

point more clearly it is only necessary to refer for a moment to the legal literature of the Hindus. The *Mānava Dharmasāstra* or the Institutes of Manu, which still exercises a potent influence in the regulation of the social life of the Hindus, is by no means the ancient work that it pretends to be. Modern research has shown that it is only a recension, or rather a recension of a recension, of *Dharmasūtras* connected with the Vedic Schools, incorporating at the same time the laws and usages of the age at which it was remodelled.¹

It would equally be a great mistake to suppose that the knowledge—chemical and therapeutical—which our Susruta embodies is only representative of the time of its final redaction. As a matter of fact it is a repository of the informations on the subject accumulated from the Vedic age to the date of its final recasting.

The remarks of M. Berthelot regarding a Greek technical treatise, which, from palæographic evidence, seems to have been written about the 11th century A. D., apply with still greater force to the Susruta.

“En effet la date de rédaction originelle n'est certainement pas le même pour les divers articles que le traité renferme : les uns étant plus anciens et remontant parfois jusqu'à l'antiquité gréco Egyptienne ; tandis que les autres reproduisent des recettes postérieures et des additions peut-être contemporaines du dernier copiste. En tous cas, ce traité continue la vieille tradition de l'orfèvrerie alchimique, qui remonte aux

(1) Vide Buhler's Introduction to *the Laws of Manu* : pp. XVIII et seq. Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXV.

anciens Egyptiens."—*Coll. des anciens alch. Grecs. t. iii. trad. p. 307.*

The period when the Susruta received its final cast must always remain an open question. Vāgbhaṭa in his *Astāṅgarīdaya* makes copious extracts both from the Charaka and the Susruta. The latter must therefore have existed in their present form prior to the 9th century A. D. Mādhavakara in his *Nidāna* quotes bodily from the *Uttaratantra*, and as the *Nidāna* was one of the medical works which were translated for the Caliphs of Bagdad (see below), it can safely be placed in the 8th century at the latest. It is thus evident that the present redaction of the Susruta must have existed anterior to that date, and that it had become at that age stereotyped as it were. The Vāgbhaṭa and the *Nidāna* are simply summaries of the Charaka and Susruta,¹ and were written at a time when the latter had become very old, and were therefore studied by few experts, and their abstracts were likely to be prized by the general practitioners.

Vāgbhaṭa concludes his masterly treatise with the following observation, which is highly significant:—

Vāgbhaṭa's
apologia

"If a work is to pass current as authoritative simply because it is the production of a sage of old, why are not the treatises of Bhela

(1) This statement we make in a qualified sense, and we fully agree with Roth when he observes "Udoy Chand Dutt in seiner *Mat. Med.* bezeichnet das Werk als eine methodische geordnete Compilation aus Charaka und Susruta. Ich glaube er thut ihm damit Unrecht: Vāgbhaṭa der sich übrigens mehr an Susruta halt, ist nicht so unselbständig." *Zeit. deut. morg. Ges.* 49. p. 184.

and others¹ studied except those of Charaka and Susruta? It thus follows that whatever is reasonable [methodical and scientific] is to be preferred."²

Read between the lines the above is to be taken as an apology on the part of our author for appearing in the field; it further establishes clearly that even during his lifetime¹ the Charaka and the Susruta were regarded *as hoary with the prescription of age*, and their memories had passed into the region of tradition.³

The earliest commentary of the Susruta that has been partially preserved to us is known as the *Bhānumati* by Chakrapānī Datta, the celebrated author of the medical work which goes by his name (about 1060 A.D.). The other well-known commentary, the *Nibandha Samgraha*, is by Dalvana, who lived in the reign of Sahanapāla Deva whose kingdom was situated somewhere near Muttra. Dalvana acknowledges his obligations to the previous commentators, namely Jejjata, Gayadāsa, Bhāskara, and Mādhava whose dates it is not easy to ascertain.

The commen-
tators of Su-
sruta

Since a remote period the text of the Susruta has been jealously preserved and no tampering with it tolerated. Thus Dalvana refuses to recognise the authenticity of a passage, because an ancient commentator, Jejjata, has not noticed it.⁴

The purity of
the text

(1) e.g. Jātukarṇa, Parāyara, Kshārapāni, etc. see p. xii.

(2) ऋषिप्रणीते प्रीतिशेन्युक्ता चरकस्युक्तौ ।

भेदाद्याः किं न पठ्यन्ते तस्माद् याज्ञं सुभाषितम् ॥”

(3) On the age of Vāgbhaṭa see below p. XXIX

(4) अनापरोक्षं योगः, जज्जटाचार्येण नीकत्वात् । तस्मान्न पठनीयम् ।

Chikitsita. VII. 3.

Haas on the
age of Susruta

We have been at some pains in arriving at an approximate age of the composition of the Susruta, because attempts have been made now and then by a certain school of European scholars to prove that the medical works of the Hindus are of comparatively recent date. Haas has propounded the bold and astounding theory that the systematic development of Hindu medicine took place between the tenth and sixteenth centuries A. D.¹ We shall see later on that this is precisely the period which marks the *decadence* of the Hindu intellect in the field of medicine and mathematics.² We should not have thought it necessary to discuss seriously the various arguments which Haas adduces in support of his views, some of which Dr. Hoernle curtly disposes of as "an elaborate joke," were it not for the fact that this German critic represents a school, which cannot or will not see anything in India, which can claim originality or antiquity. In his blind zeal to support this theory, Haas has been led into the most egregious blunders. He comes to the strange conclusion that the works of Vāgbhaṭa, Mādhava and Śārṅgadharma and others supply the germs, out of

Many such instances may be cited. For the purity of the text we are much indebted to these commentators.

1) Kehren wir nunmehr wieder zur historischen Frage zurück, so können wir jetzt einen Anfangs—und einen Endpunkt aufstellen, zwischen welche wir mit einiger Sicherheit das Entstehen der systematischen Wissenschaft der Medizin bei den Indiern verlegen müssen, nämlich den Zeitraum von der Mitte des 10. bis zur Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts.—Ueber die Ursprünge der Indischen Medizin, mit besonderem Bezug auf Susruta. Zeit. deut. morg. Ges. XXX. p. 642.

(2) *Ibid* "Decline of Scientific Spirit" pp. 104-107.

which the Charaka and Susruta have been elaborated, forgetting or ignoring that the former repeatedly and gratefully acknowledge their indebtedness to the latter.

Haas is anxious to prove that the Hindus borrowed their notions of humoral pathology from the Greeks, and that the *origines* of Indian Medicine are to be looked for in the writings of Galen and Hippocrates ; indeed he goes so far as to suggest that the very name of Susruta is derived from the Arabic word Sukrat (= Sokrates), which is often confounded with Bukrat, the Arabic corruption of the Greek Hippocrates.¹ There is certainly a strange similarity between the chapter on "Initiation" in the Charaka and the "Eides" of Æsculapius as pointed out by Roth,² and there is also much in common between the doctrine of humoral pathology of the Greeks and the Hindus respectively—suggesting that borrowing may have taken place on one side or the other. But the Hindus would seem to have priority of time in their favour.

The doctrine of humoral pathology or at any rate the first beginnings of it can be traced so far back as the time of the *Rigveda*.³

and the origin of Indian medicine.

The doctrine of humoral pathology :

(1) No less preposterous is the etymology of Kāśī (Benares), which Haas derives from Kos, the native place of Hippocrates.

(2) Indische Medicin : Charaka, Z. D. M. G., Vol. 26. p. 441. Roth, whose knowledge of the Vedic and, to a certain extent, of the Ayurvedic, literature was encyclopedic, simply points out the analogy and stops short there. M. Liétard, who evidently borrows his information from Roth's article, jumps at once to the conclusion that the Hindus owe their inspiration to the Greeks !—Bull. de l'Acad. de Méd. Paris, May 5, 1896 and May 11, 1897.

(3) * * * त्रिधातु शर्म वहतं शुभस्यती ॥ I. 34. 5.

Sāyana's commentary to the above:—

pre-Buddhist
in origin.

Early Buddhist literature also furnishes us with evidences of an ingrained belief in the causation of diseases by the disturbance of the humors. On going through the chapter on "Medicaments" in the Mahāvagga, we are often reminded of the contents of the Susruta.¹ From Pāṇini also we can glean technical terms as used in the Ayurveda, suggesting that a system of medicine existed in his life time.²

Positive his-
torical evi-
dence.

We have thus what amounts to positive historical evidence that during the life time of Buddha and even much earlier the doctrine of

इ शुभस्यती शोभनस्य औषधजातस्य पालकौ युवां विधातु वातपित्तश्लेष्मशमन-
विषयं शर्मं सुखं बहूतं प्रापयतम् ।

(1) One or two instances may be quoted here :—"Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu had a superfluity of humors in his body"—*Udaya Texts* : pt. II, p. 60.

"And the blessed one said to the venerable Ānanda : 'A disturbance, Ānanda, has befallen the humors of the Thathāgata's body'—*ibid.*, p. 191.

The various kinds of salts used in medicine as also the eye ointments, to wit, black collyrium [stibium], rasa ointment [rasaājana], sota ointment [Srotaājana] &c. *ibid.* p. 50, are exactly the same as prescribed in the Susruta and other works on Hindu Medicine. (See also under ājanas, p. 52 of this book).

Note specially the reference to *vatthikamma* which is a Pāli corruption of the Sanskrit *vastikarma* :

"Now at that time the Chhabbaggiya Bhikkhus, since a surgical operation had been forbidden by the Blessed One, used a clyster."

No body has yet been bold enough to suggest that in the Mahāvagga Greek influence can be traced.

(2) The very terms Ayurveda and Ayurvedika *i. e.* expert in the Ayurveda occur in Pāṇini. We give below a list of some of the technical terms.

शिशुकन्द्यमसमभेदन्दृजननादिभ्यश्चः ४।३।८८ ; परिमानालस्यासंज्ञाशाख्याः
७।३।१७ ; खार्थाः प्राचाम् ५।४।१०० ; खार्थाः ईकन् ५।१।३३ ; आदकाचितपावान्
खान्ततरस्याम् ५।१।५३ ; लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः श्नेलचः ५।२।१०० ;
मिआदिभ्यश्च ५।२।२७ ; रोगाज्ञापनयने ५।४।४२ ; कालप्रयोजनाद् रोगे ५।२।८१ ;
अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् ५।२।१२७ ; रोगाख्यायां ण्वल् बहुलम् ३।३।१८८ ; कथादिभ्यश्च
४।४।१०२ ।

humoral pathology and the Ayurvedic method of treatment were in vogue.¹

In the *Vārttikas* of Kātyayāna also (4th to 3rd century B. C.) the three humours of *vāta* (air), *pitta* (bile) and *sleshman* (phlegm) are ranked together.²

Regarding the age of the Vinaya Text, Rhys Davids and Oldenburg say :

"The Vibhanga and the Twenty Khandhakas were at that time (circa 350 B.C.) already held in such high repute that no one ventured to alter them; a sanctity of this kind is not acquired without the lapse of a considerable time : and we think it is not going too far to say, Firstly, that these books must have been in existence, as we now have them, within thirty years, earlier or later, of, at least, 360 or 370 B.C." (Intro. p. xxiii).

It is therefore evident that almost before the birth of Hippocrates, the Hindus had elaborated a system of medicine based upon the humoral pathology. And yet Hass would have it that the Greeks, in the field of medicine as in several others, were the "pioneers and the first teachers of the world."³

(1) The Jīvaka Komārabhachcha, who treats Buddha, derives his surname from "kaumārabhṛtya," a technical term for one of the eight divisions (*astāṅgas*) of Ayurveda, meaning *treatment of infants*. Vide the *Mahāvagga*, Pt. II, p. 174.

In Asvaghosha's *Life of Buddha* we also read : "Atri, the Rishi, not understanding the sectional treatise on medicine, afterwards begat A'treya, who was able to control diseases."—Beal's trans. p. 11. This A'treya (Punarvasu) is very probably the same sage who taught Agniveśa.

(2) Weber's Hist. Sansk. Lit. p. 266, Eng. trans. ed. 1892.

(3) "Wenn aber einmal der Boden von der Vorstellung geräumt ist, dass die Araber den Susruta und Charaka schon im 9. Jahrh. gekannt haben müssen, und wenn auf der andern Seite sich herausstellte, dass die Theorien der indischen Autoritäten in ihren Grundzügen mit denen des Galen übereinstimmen, so stünde

Concluding
remarks.

The capacity of a nation must be judged by what it has independently achieved in the several fields of knowledge and branches of literature—Mathematics, including Arithmetic and Algebra, Geometry and Astronomy ; Phonetics, Philology, Grammar, Law, Philosophy, and Theology.

Cantor, the historian of mathematics, was so much struck with the resemblance between Greek geometry and the *Sūlva sūtras* that he, as is natural to a European, concluded that the latter were influenced by the Alexandrian school of Hero (215 B. C.). The *Sūlva sūtras*, however, date from about the 8th century B. C., and Dr. Thibaut has shown that the geometrical theorem of the 47th proposition, Bk. I., which tradition ascribes to Pythagoras, was solved by the Hindus at least two centuries earlier,¹ thus confirming the conclusion of v. Schroeder that the Greek philosopher owed his inspiration to India. Nor must we forget that the most scientific grammar that the world has ever produced, with its alphabet based on thoroughly phonetic principles, was composed in India about the 7th or 8th century B. C.² As Professor Macdonell remarks : “we Europeans.....2500 years later, and in a scientific age, still employ an alphabet which is not only inadequate to represent all the sounds of our language, but

nichts der Annahme im Wege, dass auch auf diesem Felde, wie auf so vielen andern, die Griechen wieder das bahnbrechende Volk und die ersten Lehrmeister der Welt gewesen sind.”—Z.D.M.G. Vol. 30, p. 670.

(1) Journ. As. Soc. Beng. 1875, p. 227.

(2) See Goldstucker on Pāṇini : his place in Sanskrit Literature.

even preserves the random order in which vowels and consonants are jumbled up as they were in the Greek adaptation of the primitive Semitic arrangement of 3000 years ago."

It is curious to reflect that the upholders of the "Greek Culture" are often found ready, though unconsciously, to twist and torture facts and conclusions to serve their own purpose, and reserve to themselves the benefit of doubt as regards date; but whenever the priority of the Hindus is unquestionable, an appeal is made to the theory of common origin and independent parallelism of growth.¹ These scholars seem to smart under a sense of injury if they have to confess that Europe owes an intellectual debt to India, hence many a futile attempt to explain away positive historical facts.² It may not be superfluous to add here that Albĕrūnī, before he took to the study of Sanskrit, entertained

(1) Cp. "une affirmation nouvelle de l'unité de l'esprit humain. Chaque fois que l'homme au même degré de culture se retrouve dans les mêmes circonstances, il tend à penser, à croire, à sentir, à agir de la même façon."—Goblet d'Alviella on "Classical Influence in Literary and Scientific Culture in India"; Bull. de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 3rd. Series, T. 34, pp. 484 et seq.

(2) The late Prof. Maxmüller, who always held the balance evenly in deciding between the rival claims of the East and the West, in his last work, thus gives expression to the European sentiments: "In some respects, and particularly in respect to the greatest things....., India has as much to teach us as Greece and Rome, nay, I should say more. We must not forget, of course, that we are the direct intellectual heirs of the Greeks, and that our philosophical currency is taken from the capital left to us by them. Our palates are accustomed to the food which they have supplied to us from our very childhood, and hence whatever comes to us now from the thought-mines of India is generally put aside as merely curious or strange, whether in language, mythology, religion, or philosophy.—Auld Lang Syne: second series, p. 161.

notions similar to those of Haas, d'Alviella and others, but after his intimate acquaintance with the literature of the Hindus he had to change or modify his views. We are here reminded of the essay written by Dugald Stewart "in which he endeavoured to prove that not only Sanskrit literature but also Sanskrit language was a forgery made by the crafty Brahmans on the model of Greek after Alexander's conquest" (Macdonell).

Those who attempt to prove that India owes her civilisation—or at any rate such advance and progress in the arts and sciences which make civilisation worth the name—to Hellenic influence seem to be only one degree removed from a Dugald Stewart.

The analogy
more superfi-
cial than real.

After all, we are afraid, too much has been made of the resemblance between the Greek and the Hindu theory and practice of medicine. The analogy is more superficial than real, and does not seem to bear a close examination. The Hindu system is based upon the three humors of the air, the bile and the phlegm, whilst that of the Greek is founded upon four humors, namely, the blood, the bile, the water and the phlegm—a cardinal point of difference.¹

Vagbhata.

Next to the Charaka and the Susruta, the medical authority, who is held in the highest estimation throughout India, is Vāgbhata, the author of *Aṣṭāṅgahridaya* (*lit.* heart or the kernel of the eight limbs or divisions of the Ayurveda).

(1) Cf. "Il y a dans le corps quatre humeurs : le sang, la bile, l'eau et le phlegme."—Œuvres d'Hippocrate, T. vii. p. 475, ed. Littré, (1851). Again : "Les quatre humeurs, sang, bile, phlegme et eau, j'ai démontré comment et pourquoi toutes s'augmentent dans le corps par les aliments et les boissons."—*Ibid.*, p. 557.

Indeed, in many parts of the Deccan the very names of Charaka and Susruta were forgotten, and Vāgbhaṭa is looked up to as a *revealed* author, and this is one of the reasons which led Haas to conclude that the former succeeded, and owed their inspiration to, the latter¹ (see *ante* p. xx).

The treatise of Vāgbhaṭa may be regarded as an epitome of the Charaka and the Susruta with some gleanings from the works of Bhela and Hārīta, and contains little or nothing that is original.² In Surgery alone the author introduces certain modifications and additions. Mineral and natural salts chiefly figure in the prescriptions along with vegetable drugs; mercury is incidentally mentioned, but in such a perfunctory manner that it would not be safe to conclude that any compounds thereof are referred to. There are, however, a few metallic preparations recommended in it, which would presuppose an advanced knowledge of chemical processes.

The opening salutation of Astāṅga, which is addressed either to Buddha or some Buddhistic emblem, clearly reveals the religious faith of its author; there is a tradition current among the learned Pundits of S. India, "that Vāgbhaṭa, formerly a Brahmin, was persuaded by a Baud-dha priest to adopt his religion, which he embraced in the latter part of his life."³ Inter-

(1) An die Stelle des seines Vorranges beraubten Susruta würde ich unbedenklich das *Ashṭāṅgahr̥daya* setzen.—Hippokrates und die indische Medizin des Mittelalters. Z. D. M. G., Vol. 31, p. 649.

(2) See, however, *ante* p. xviii, foot note.

(3) Preface to *Vaidyakaśāstrasindhu*. p. 6.

nal evidence also fully supports our author's proclivities towards Buddhism,¹ and he seems to have flourished at a time when the religion of Śākya Muni held its own in India. The Chinese pilgrim I'Tsing speaks of a compiler of the eight divisions of the Ayurveda—possibly this may refer to Vāgbhaṭa.²

Cordier, following no doubt the authority of *Vaidyakaśābdasindhu*, states that, according to Rājatarāṅginī, Vāgbhaṭa lived at the time of King Jayasimha (1196-1218 A. D.); this view is quite untenable, and it is one of the many instances which would go to prove that Kalhana in writing his *Chronicles* had often to draw largely upon vague traditions, and hence his dates are to be accepted *cum grano salis*.³

Csoma de Kőrös was the first to announce

(1) See the numerous passages quoted by Dr. Kunte in his Introduction to Vāgbhaṭa, pp. 14-15.

The remarkable passage we have cited above, in which our author asserts the right of every man to think for himself (p. xviii), is quite in keeping with the rationalistic age in which he lived, and he further observes in the same place that a medicine will have its efficacy all the same by whomsoever it is prescribed, be he Brahma himself or any body else. It should be commended to those who are lost in admiration over the "keen edged intellect" of Saṃkara, who does not find a better weapon to fight with his opponents than an appeal to the *Vedas* and other scriptures, see foot note to p. 107.

वाते पिते श्रेयशांतौ च पथं
तैलं सर्पिर्मांक्षिकं च क्रमेण ।
एतद् ब्रह्मा भाषते ब्रह्मजी वा
का निर्मले बह्वृषिदोक्तिशक्ति ॥
अभिधातवशात् किंवा द्रव्यशक्तिर्विशिष्यते ?

Uttara, XL. 85, 86.

(2) "These eight arts formerly existed in eight books, but lately a man epitomised them and made them into one bundle."—I'Tsing : *Records of the Buddhist Religion* by Takakasu, p. 128.

(3) The eminent Sanskrit scholar, the late A. M. Barua, in

that the Thibetan Tanjur contains among others translations of the Charaka, the Susruta, and the Vāgbhaṭa.¹ Georg Huth, who has recently critically examined the contents of the Tanjur, concludes that the most recent date at which it can be placed is 8th century A. D.² This is in agreement with the fact that the Vāgbhaṭa was one of the medical works translated by order of the Caliphs. But no positive information as regards the most distant date is yet available;³ Kunte, from internal evidence, is inclined to place him "at least as early as the second century before Christ."

That Hindu Pharmacopœia in the 7th century ran on the lines of the Charaka and the Susruta, and did not include any elaborate metallic preparations is evident from the testimonies of Vāna and of the Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing. Thus, we read in the Harsha-Charita: "among their number, however, was a young doctor of Punarvasu's race named Rasāyana, a youth of about eighteen years of age, holding an hereditary position in the royal household, in which he had been cherished like a son by the King.

Hindu Pharmacopœia in the 7th century.

discussing the age of Kshirasvami discards the authority of *Rājatarāṅginī* and observes:—"I do not see any valid reason for regarding it as a historical authority for all its statements and the more I learn the more my view is confirmed." The name of Vāgbhaṭa, however, does not occur in Stein's edition of *Rāj.*, which may be pronounced as the most reliable that has yet appeared.

(1) Journ. Asiatic Soc. xxxvii. (1835).

(2) Zeit. deut. Morg. Ges. T. lxix, pp. 279-284.

(3) Regarding the bibliography of Vāgbhaṭa, see two short monographs, by Dr. Palmyr Cordier; also Julius Jolly: Zur Quellenkunde der indischen Medizin, I. 'Vāgbhaṭa.', Zeit. deut. Morg. Ges. LIV. pp. 260-74.

He had mastered Ayurveda in all its eight divisions, and, being naturally of an acute intellect, was perfectly familiar with the diagnosis of diseases :"¹ I-Tsing also records : "I made a successful study in medical science, but as it is not my proper vocation, I have finally given it up"² In his rules on giving medicine he further lays stress on abstinence and fasting, and recommends such drugs as the myrobalans, ginger, pepper, liquorice, etc. In both instances, in vain do we look for any metallic salts, which form the leading features of the later Tantric and Iatro-Chemical Schools.

CHAPTER III

The Transitional Period

Circa 800—1110 A.D.

VṚINDA AND CHAKRAPANI

We now come upon a period which determines the parting of ways in the progress of Hindu medicine. Hitherto we have been chiefly concerned with herbs and simples and a few readily available products of the mineral kingdom. About the year 1050 A. D. Chakrapāṇi Datta, himself a learned commentator of both the Charaka and Susrata, wrote the celebrated medical treatise which bears his name. Since the days of Vagbhata, metallic preparations had begun slowly to creep into use, and at the time of Chakrapāṇi and his predecessor Vṛinda, they had so fully established their claims

(1) Cowell and Thomas' *Trans.* pp 143-144.

(2) Takakasu : *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 128.

that they could no longer be ignored. Thus we find from the tenth century and downward every medical work more or less recommending compounds of metals which can only be synthetically prepared.

It should not, however, be forgotten that Susruta at times shows a knowledge of pharmacy, unsurpassed in the later Hindu medicine.

Although Chakrapāṇi belonged to the Brahmanical creed, his writings show a decided leaning towards Buddhism. Thus Maghadha itself is named महाबोधिप्रदेश or the country of the Mahābodhi; we have also such expressions as बोधिसत्त्वेनभाषितं, सुखावती वर्त्ति, सौगतमञ्जनम्। This might well be expected; for Chakrapāṇi's father was physician to king Nayapāla, the successor of Mahipala, who ascended the throne about 1040 A. D.¹

Both Vrinda and Chakrapāṇi mention Nāgārjuna as an authority, and they follow closely in the footsteps of Charaka, Susruta and Vāgbhaṭa; but at the same time they are amenable to the influences brought to bear upon medicine by the Tantras.

(1) The author, fortunately for future historians, has given an account of himself in a colophon :—

गौडधिनाथरसवत्यधिकारिपात्र
नारायणस्य तनयः सुनयोऽन्तरङ्गात् ।
भानीरनु प्रथितलीभ्रवलीकुलीनः
श्रीचक्रपाणिरिह कर्तृपदाधिकारी ॥

“The author of this work is Sri C.p., who belongs to the family of Lodhrāvali and who is younger brother of Bhānu and the son of Narayana, the superintendent of the kitchen of the King of Gour.” Regarding the date of Nayapala, *vide* Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India*, III. p. 119, also Journ. As. Soc. LX. Pt. 1. p., 46, Life of Atisa by S. C. Dāsa.

Indeed, they go so far as to recommend the uttering of the cabalistic interjections of the votaries of the Tantric cult with a view to increase the efficacy of some of their preparations. ¹ (see *ante* p. i.)

Dr. Hoernle observes : "it would be satisfactory to be able to discover what the sources were on which Chakrapāṇi drew for his compilation ; they are not specified anywhere, I believe, in his work." ² It is not easy to account for the above remarks, seeing that Chakrapāṇi distinctly mentions that he has modelled his work on the *Siddha-yoga* of Vṛinda,³ and that he draws largely upon the Charaka, the Susruta and the Vāgbhata, all of whom he quotes verbatim and at length.

The religion of Sākya-muni inculcates the alleviation of distress and suffering, both moral and physical, as one of the essential articles of faith, and hence we find throughout Buddhist India hospitals attached to the numerous monasteries for the treatment of man and

(1) अयं मन्त्रः प्रयोज्यो भिषजा चाभिमन्त्रणं ॥

ओं नमो विनायकाय अमृतं रक्ष रक्ष मम फलमिदं

देहि देहि रुद्रवचनेन स्वाहा । १७। इन्द्रमायनाधिकारः ।

Poona ed. p. 518.

"इदमिह इष्टोपकरणमेतदुदृष्टन् मन्त्रेण ।

स्वाहात्नेन विमर्दो भवति फडत्नेन लोहवल्गुना ।

मनसस्कारेण वलिभञ्जणमयमो हूमन्त्रेण ॥

"ओं अमृताब्जवाय स्वाहा ।" "ओं अमृते हूं फट् ।"

"ओं नमश्चण्डवज्रपाणये महायक्षसेनाधिपतये सुरगुरुविद्या-

महाबलाय स्वाहा ।" "ओं अमृते हूं । इति चक्रपाणिस्मायनाधिकारः ।

(2) Journ. As. Soc. Beng. LX. pt. 1. p. 150.

(3) यः सिद्धयोगलिखिताधिक सिद्धयोगा-

नचैव निजिपति केवलमुद्धरेद्वा

beast alike.¹ It would also appear that inscriptions were engraved on rock pillars giving recipes for the treatment of diseases. Thus both *Vrinda* and *Chakrapāṇi* speak of a formula for a collyrium as inscribed on a stone pillar by Nāgārjuna at Pātaliputra : नागार्जुनेन लिखिता स्तम्भे पाटलियुक्ते ।

Chakrapāṇi bases his work on that of *Vrinda*, who again follows closely the order and the pathology of the *Nidāna* of Mādhavkara.² It necessarily follows that *Vrinda* was a recognised authority at least one or two centuries before the time of *Chakrapāṇi* and that the former was preceded by the *Nidāna* by at least as many centuries and thus we have internal evidence of the existence of the *Nidāna* in the eighth century as the lowermost limit—a date which is further corroborated by the fact that the *Nidāna* was one of the medical treatises translated by order of the Caliphs.

Probable date of *Vrinda*.

As regards alchemy in India in the XIth century, we cannot do better than quote *in extenso* Albērūnī, who was well versed in Arabic and Greek astronomy, chemistry etc.

Alchemy in the eleventh century.

“The Hindus do not pay particular attention to alchemy, but no nation is entirely free from it, and one nation has more bias for it than another, which must not be construed as proving intelligence or ignorance ; for we find that many intelligent people are entirely given to alchemy, whilst ignorant people ridicule the

(1) “Everywhere the King Piyadasi, beloved of the Gods, has provided medicines of two sorts, medicines for men and medicines for animals.” Edict II. of Asoka.

(2) *Vrinda* himself admits this :

वृन्देन * * * संलियते गर्दविनिदयप्रक्रमेण ॥

art and its adepts. Those intelligent people, though exulting boisterously over their make-believe science, are not to be blamed for occupying themselves with alchemy, for their motive is simply excessive eagerness for acquiring fortune and for avoiding misfortune. Once a sage was asked why scholars always flock to the doors of the rich, whilst the rich are not inclined to call at the doors of scholars. 'The scholars,' he answered, 'are well aware of the use of money, but the rich are ignorant of the nobility of science.' On the other hand, ignorant people are not to be praised, although they behave quite quietly, simply because they abstain from alchemy, for their motives are objectionable ones, rather practical result of innate ignorance and stupidity than anything else.

"The adepts in this art try to keep it concealed, and shrink back from intercourse with those who do not belong to them. Therefore, I have not been able to learn from the Hindus which methods they follow in this science and what element they principally use, whether a mineral or an animal or a vegetable one. I only heard them speaking of the process of *sublimation*, of *calcination*, of *analysis*, and of the *waxing of talc*, which they call in their language *tālaka*, and so I guess that they incline towards the minerological method of alchemy.

"They have a science similar to alchemy which is quite peculiar to them. They call it *Rasāyana*, a word composed with *rasa* i.e. gold.¹ It means an art which is restricted to certain operations, drugs, and compound medicines, most of which are taken from plants. Its principles restore the health of those who were ill beyond hope, and give back youth to fading old age, so that people become again what they were in the age near puberty; white hair becomes black again, the keenness of the senses is restored as well as the capacity for juvenile agility, and even

(1) See, however, pp. 43-44, for the meaning of the term "rasa."

for cohabitation, and the life of the people in this world is even extended to a long period. And why not? Have we not already mentioned on the authority of Patañjali that one of the methods leading to liberation is Rasāyana? What man would hear this, being inclined to take it for truth, and not dart off into foolish joy and not honour the master of such a wonderful art by popping the choicest bit of this meal into his mouth?" Sachau's Trans. Vol. 1. pp. 187-88.

CHAPTER IV

The Tantric Period

Circa 1100 A.D.—1300 A.D.

Before we proceed further it would be advisable to take a hasty glance at the origin of the Tantric Cult, as Indian Alchemy very largely derives its colour and flavour from it. In almost every country the progress of chemistry can be traced to medicine and the belief in the artificial gold-making,—the search after *elixir vitae* and the philosopher's stone. In India, however, these ends have played a secondary part in promoting a knowledge of the chemical processes. Here the origin of astronomy, geometry and anatomy is to be sought in the exigencies of religious rites.¹ No less is the case with alchemy.

Origin of the
Tantric Cult.

(1) Cf. the opening remarks by Dr. Thibaut on the *Sulva-sūtras* :—

"It is well known that not only Indian life with all its social and political institutions has been at all times under the mighty sway of religion, but that we are also led back to religious belief and worship when we try to account for the origin of research in those departments of knowledge which the Indians have cultivated with such remarkable success. At first sight, few traces of this origin may be visible in the *Sāstras* of the later times, but looking

We have already seen how the *Atharva-veda* deals almost exclusively in charms, sorcery, exorcism of diseases by means of amulets and so on. It is sometimes supposed that the A.V. represents the latest of the Vedas. This is evidently a misimpression.¹ The truth seems to be that human frailty has always fought shy of the tedious and laborious methods of gaining an object. The spiritual hankering as foreshadowed in the prayers of the *Rik*, and later on so fully developed in the *Upanishads*, represents only the aspirations of the few cultured *Rishis*. The bulk of the people have always sighed for a royal road to salvation, hence the necessity for an *A.V.*; as Emerson appositely says in his essay on Demonology, "the history of man is a series of conspiracies to win from Nature some advantage without paying for it." Atharvanic rites have therefore more or less held sway over mankind in every age and clime. As the Aryan conquerors began to settle in India and came into frequent contact with the aborigines, they had unconsciously to imbibe some of the gross superstitions of the latter, and thus in course of time a superstructure of monstrous growth sprang up, ready to swallow even the purer and more orthodox creed. Hence the protests recorded from time to time in the *Mahābhārata*

closer we may always discern the connecting thread."—Journ. As. Soc. (1875) Vol. XLIV, part 1, p. 227.

(1) As Bloomfield remarks:—"There is no proof that even the oldest parts of the *R. V.* or the most ancient Hindu tradition accessible historically, exclude the existence of the class of writings entitled to any of the names given to the Atharvan charms." Intro. to A. V. p. XXX.

and in the law-books against the vulgarity of the aims of the *A. V.* and the refusal to accept its authority (see *ante* p. v). But on the other hand, by virtue of its profound hold upon popular beliefs and because indispensable sciences like medicine and astrology are Atharvanic by distinction, the fourth *Veda* has always retained a considerable following.¹ If we turn to Europe in the middle ages, we find the professors of the "black art" sharing a fate similar to the priests of the Atharvanic rites,—now openly received in the bosom of the holy church—now anathematised and flung into prison.²

In the Sanskrit Literature whenever there is any reference to sorcery or magic, it is generally laid to the account of the *A. V.* But in the course of time the worship of Siva came into vogue, which incorporated much that was non-Aryan in character, and which seems to have got blended with *A. V.* rites as modified by changes and requirements of the time. The original inhabitants, "the Dasyus are described in the *Rigveda* as non-sacrificing, unbelieving and impious. They are also doubtless meant by the phallus-worshippers mentioned in two passages. The Aryans in course of time came to adopt this form of cult. There are many passages in the *Mahābhārata* showing that

(1) Bloomfield :—Intro. to *A. V.* xlv.

(2) This is exemplified in Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon. The former rose to be a Bishop but "minder glücklich oder unvorsichtiger als Albertus Magnus, entging Roger Baco der Verfolgung als Zauberer nicht. Er wurde in Oxford von seinen eigenen Klosterbrüdern in das Gefängniß geworfen."—*Gesch. d. Chem.* 1. 63.

Siva was already venerated under the emblem of the phallus when that epic was composed." ¹

Tantric rites
prevalent in
the seventh
century.

By the VIIth century A. D., we find Siva's worship well established in India. In the life of King Harsa by Vāna there is a graphic description of a weird ceremony performed by a Saiva saint named Bhāiravāchāryya. "Seated on the breast of a corpse which lay supine, anointed with red sandal and arrayed in garlands, clothes and ornaments, all of red, himself with a black turban, black unguents, black amulet, and black garments, he had begun a fire rite in the corpse's mouth where a flame was burning." ² In the drama of *Mālatīmādhava* by Bhavabhūti (690 A. D.) we have also references to similar rites.

We have here the outlines of what has been known latterly as the Tantric Cult—a curious admixture of alchemical processes on the one hand, and grotesque and obscene and sometimes revolting rites on the other—all centred round the worship of Siva and his consort Pārvatī. The sidelight which is thrown in the life of King Harsa and the graphic account left by his contemporary, the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, enable us to draw a picture of N. India in the VIIth century A. D. It has hitherto been taken almost for granted that Buddhism was expelled from India by the persecution of the Brahmins of the Renaissance period. There may have been zealous bigots who now and then went the length of hunting down Buddhists ;

(1) Macdonell : *Hist. Sansk. Lit.* p. 153.

(2) Cowell and Thomas' Trans. of the *Harsa-charita* p. 92.

but the consensus of testimonies seems to be that both the people and the princes generally maintained an attitude of philosophic toleration towards the creed of Sākya-muni even so late as the XIth century A. D.¹ The causes which brought about the extinction of Buddhism in India worked from *within*. The purity of life, and the austerity of practices enjoined on the followers of the creed, became in the long run irksome. The monasteries degenerated into hot beds of corruption, so much so that the semi-savage Mussulman conquerors felt little compunction in putting the inmates thereof to the sword. Hinduism also, which has been noted in all ages for its assimilative and elastic character, swallowed up the remnants of the Buddhists by acknowledging the founder of their religion to be an *Avatāra* or Incarnation of Vishnu.

The causes
which brought
about the ex-
tinction

of Buddhism.

(1) Cf. The annual report of the Asiatic Soc. to hand :—

“The copper-plate of Madanapāla which has just been referred to is interesting also from a sociological point of view. We know that all the Pāla kings were followers of the Buddhist religion, and that it was during their reign that Buddhism flourished for the last time in India. Now the grant recorded in the plate was made by Madanapāla to a Brahman as a *dakshina* or honorarium for having read the Mahābhārata to the queens of the king’s harem. This is one more fact, in addition to others previously known, showing the intimate connexion that existed in the time of those Buddhist kings between Buddhism and Hinduism, a connexion that resulted in the former losing more and more its ground against the latter, and that thus prepared the way for the final destruction of Buddhism by the Muhammedan invaders.” p. 26. Similar evidence is also afforded by *Rājtar.* c.g.

“Kalhaza does not hesitate to refer repeatedly to the Bodhisattvas or to Buddha himself as the comforters of all beings, the embodiments of perfect charity and nobility of feeling. They are to him beings of absolute goodness “who do not feel anger even against the sinner, but in patience render him kindness...”—Stein’s Intro. p. 8.

Tantras—
Brahminic and
Buddhistic

We have seen that the *A. I.* rites as also the Tantric cults cover almost identical ground ; both had their origin in the attempts at popularising the religion among the masses by appealing to the baser or the less refined elements of human nature. An enormous bulky literature has thus sprung up representing this corrupt and effete outgrowth of Brahminism.¹ There are however two distinct classes of Tantras—Brahminic and Buddhistic—dealing in magic, alchemy, sorcery, and allied subjects, which will claim our attention here. The causes which favoured the rise and progress of the Hindu Tantras equally contributed to the development of the Buddhistic,² only in the latter, instead of Siva and Pārvaī, a Buddha, a Tathāgata or an Avalokitesvara is often addressed in the invocation as the source and fountain of all knowledge. We have also a class of Tantras which is an admixture of Buddhistic and Saiva cult. A notable example of which is afforded by the *Mahākāla Tantra*.³ *Rasaratnākara*, the author-

(1) Tantras grew up in Kāsmīr also : "Tantric cult which in Kāsmīr is still closely connected with Saiva worship, seems also to have been well known to Kalhana." Stein's *Intro. to Rājatar.* p. 80.

(2) Cf. "Pour des esprits grossiers et ignorants, de tels livres ont certainement plus de valeur que les légendes morales des premiers temps du Buddhisme. Ils promettent des avantages temporels et immédiats ; ils satisfont enfin à ce besoin de superstitions, à cet amour des pratiques dévotes par lequel s'exprime le sentiment religieux en Asie, et auquel ne répondait qu'imparfaitement la simplicité du Buddhisme primitif." Burnouf's—*Intro. à l'Hist. du Buddhisme Ind.* p. 466. Regarding Buddhistic Tantras and their relationship to Saiva Tantras, the reader is referred to Burnouf's admirable exposition *loc. cit.*

(3) *Intro. Hist. Buddh. Ind.*, p. 480.

ship of which is ascribed to Nāgārjuna, also belongs to this category ; this work as well as *Rasārṇava*, a Tantra of the Saiva cult, will claim our special attention, as they embody much valuable information on chemistry.

What is it that made these Tantras the repositories of chemical knowledge ? The answer is given in the words of *Rasārṇava* (lit. sea of mercury) itself, which extols the virtues of mercury and its various preparations :—

“As it is used by the best devotees for the highest end, it is called *pārada* (quicksilver).”

“Begotten of my limbs, it is, O goddess, equal to me. It is called *rasa* because it is the exudation of my body.”

“It may be urged that the literal interpretation of these words is incorrect, the liberation in this life being explicable in another manner. This objection is not allowable, liberation being set out in the six systems as subsequent to the death of the body, and upon this there can be no reliance, and consequently no activity to attain to it free from misgivings. This is also laid down in the same treatise.

“Liberation is declared in the six systems to follow the death of the body.”

“Such liberation is not cognised in perception like an emblic myrobalan fruit in hand.”

“Therefore a man should preserve that body by means of mercury and of medicaments.”

A few more typical extracts are given below which will throw further light on the subject :

“The body, some one may say, is seen to be perishable, how can then its permanency be effected ? Think not so, it is replied, for though the body, as a complexus of six sheaths or wrappers of the soul, is dissoluble, yet the body as created by Hara and Gauri under the names of mercury and mica, may be perdurable. Thus it is said in the *Rasahridaya* :—

"Those who without quitting their bodies have attained to new ones through the influence of Hara and Gouri (mercury and mica), are to be praised as *Rasasiddha* (alchemists). All *mantras* are at their services."

"The ascetic, therefore, who aspires to liberation in this life, should first make to himself a glorified body. And inasmuch as mercury is produced by the creative conjunction of Hara and Gauri, and mica is produced from Gauri, mercury and mica are severally identified with Hara and Gauri in the verse :—

"Mica is thy seed, and mercury is my seed ;

"The combination of the two, O goddess, is destructive of death and poverty."

"There is very little to say about the matter. In the *Rasesvarasiddhānta* many among the gods, the Daityas, the Munis and mankind, are declared to have attained to liberation in this life by acquiring a divine body through the efficacy of quicksilver."

"Certain gods, Mahesa and others ; certain Daityas, Kāyā (Sukrāchārya), and others ; certain sages, Bālahilyas and others ; certain kings, Somesvara and others ; Govinda-Bhagavat, Govindanāyaka, Charvatī, Kapila, Vyāli and others—these alchemists, having attained to mercurial bodies and therewith identified are liberated though alive."

"The meaning of this, as unfolded by Siva to Pārvatī, is as follows :—

"The preservation of body, O Supreme goddess ! is obtained by mercury and by (the suppression of) breath.¹ Mercury, when swooned, cures diseases and

¹ Here Cowell and Gough translate पवन simply as "air. We are inclined to think, however, that it is used in the sense of *closing the nostrils*—प्राणायाम of Yoga philosophy.

when killed, restores life to the dead. Mercury and air when confined, enable a man, O goddess, to fly about.

"The *swooning state* of mercury is thus described :—

"They say quicksilver to be swooning when it is thus characterised.—

"Of various colours, and free from excessive fluidity or mobility (see p. 41).

"A man should regard that quicksilver as dead, in which the absence of the following properties is noticed.—

"Wetness, thickness, brightness, heaviness, mobility.

"The *fixed* condition is described in another place as follows :—

"The character of fixed quicksilver is that it is :—

"Continuous, readily fusible, efficacious, pure, heavy, and that it can revert to its own natural state." Cf. p. 136.

"Some one may urge : If the creation of mercury by Hara and Gauri were proved, it might be allowed that the body could be made permanent ; but how can that be proved ? The objection is not allowable, inasmuch as that *can* be proved by eighteen modes of elaboration. "Thus it is stated by authorities :—

"Eighteen modes of elaboration are to be carefully discriminated."

"In the first place, as pure in every process, for perfecting the adepts."

And these methods of elaboration are enumerated thus :—

"Sweating, rubbing, swooning, fixing, dropping, coercion, restraining."

"Kindling, going, falling into globules, pulverising, covering."

"Internal flux, external flux, burning, colouring, and pouring."

“And eating it by parting and piercing it,—are the eighteen modes of treating quicksilver.”

“These treatments have been described at length by Govinda-Bhagavat, Sarvajña-rāmesvara and the other ancient authorities, and are here omitted to avoid prolixity.

“By the science of mercury is to be understood not only a branch of chemistry alone, but it is also to be applied to salvation by means of *dehavedha*. Rasārṇava says :—

“You have, O God, explained the killing of metals. Now tell me that process of *dehavedha* by means of which ærial locomotion is effected. Mercury is equally to be applied to metals and body. First make its experiment on metals and then [having thus gained experience] apply it to the body.”¹

“Emancipation of a man when alive, as declared in the mercurial system, O subtile Thinker ! is (to be found) in the tenets of other schools though holding different methods of arguments. It is according to all sacred texts to be known by knowledge. None, when not alive, is likely to know the knowable and therefore a man must live (to know the knowable).”

(1) We have in some places adopted Cowell and Gough's trans. of *Sarvādarsanasamgraha*, but the rendering appears to be faulty in many instances, notably in the above śloka. The original runs as follows :—

न च रसशास्त्रं धातुवादार्थमेवेति सन्त्यं देहवैधद्वारा मुक्तिरव परमप्रयोजन-
त्वात् । तदुक्तं रसायने

लोहवैधस्त्वया देव यद्वत्तं परमेशितः ।

तं देहवैधमाचक्ष्व येन स्यात् विचरी गतिः ॥

यथा लोहं तथा देहे कर्तव्यः सूतकः सता ।

समानं कुरुते देवि प्रत्ययं देहलोहयोः ।

पूर्वं लोहं परीक्षितं पथादेहे प्रयोज्यमिति ॥

I. C. Vidyāsāgara's Ed. (1858).

Here Cowell and Gough render धातुवादार्थं as “eulogistic of the metal :” and लोहं as “blood.” Regarding धातुवादः See d. 104

“It is mercury alone that can make the body undecaying and immortal, as it is said :—

“Only this supreme medicament can make the body undecaying and imperishable.”

“Why describe the efficacy of this metal ? Its value is proved even by seeing it, and by touching it, as it is said in the *Rasārṇava* :—

“By means of seeing it, touching it, eating it, remembering it, worshipping it and bestowing it upon others, six kinds of highest merits are attained.

“Equal merit accrues from seeing mercury as accrues from seeing all the phallic emblems.”

“On earth, those at *Kedāra*, and all others whatsoever.”

“In another place we read :—

“The adoration of the sacred quicksilver is more beatific than the worship of all the phallic emblems at *Kāśī* and elsewhere.”

“Inasmuch as there is attained thereby enjoyment, health, exemption from decay, and immortality.”

“The sin of disparaging mercury is also set out :—

“The adept on hearing quicksilver heedlessly disparaged should recall quicksilver to mind.”

“He should at once shun the blasphemmer, who is by his blasphemy for ever filled with sin.” Cf. under *R. R. S.* p. 43.

The quotations given above are from the *Sarvadarsanasamgraha*, or a “Review of the different systems of Hindu Philosophy” by *Mādhavāchārya*, prime minister to *Bukka I.* of *Vijayanagara*, and who was elected in 1331 A. D. head-abbot of the monastery of *Sringeri*. Of the sixteen philosophical systems current in the 14th century during the author's lifetime, *Rasesvaradarsana* or the “Mercurial System” is

one. From the fact that *Rasārṇava* is quoted in it as a standard work on this subject it would be safe to conclude that it must have been written at least a century or two earlier, say sometime about the 12th century. In Amarasimha's Lexicon (ca. 1000 A. D.)¹ the following synonyms of *pārada* (mercury) are given, namely, *chapala*, *rasa*, and *suta*; but in the vocabulary of *Viśvakosa* by Mahesvara (1188 A. D.), *haravīja* (lit. semen of Siva) is added thereto. Now in the Tantric literature, of which the philosophy of mercury is the main outcome, quicksilver is regarded as the generative principle, and directions are given for making a mercurial phallus of Siva. We may, therefore, take it that the Tantras which deal in mercurial preparations, had their origin sometime about the 11th to 12th century A. D. It would not be justifiable however to hold that the Tantras did not exist before this time.

The age of
the Tantras,
dealing with
mercury

Although we have maintained above that the alchemical Tantras had their origin about the 11th century A. D. it would be safer to conclude that the Tantric processes had sprung into existence long before this time, but that they did not acquire sufficient importance to force the attention of the physicians, as we have seen above that the *R. V.* and the *A. V.* existed almost side by side though the latter was held for a long time in contempt and was not quoted in the orthodox treatises.

One very strong argument in favour of much older dates of the above Tantras is that Mādha-

(1) Regarding the date of Amarasimha see also p. 80.

vācharya, a very cautious and discriminating writer, whom we have quoted above, describes the works he cites, including Rasārṇava, as "ancient authorities" in his lifetime (see above p. xlv).

We have already had occasion to draw attention to the non-mention of metallic preparations, notably of those of mercury, in the writings of Vāna and I'Tsing (p. xxix). But this is another apt illustration of the dangers of the *argumentum ex silentio*. In the *Vrihat samhitā* of Varāhamihira (d. 587 A. D.) there is mention of iron and mercury among the aphrodisiacs and tonics ;¹ and this historical evidence is of great use to us in deciding the age of the Tantras, dealing with mercury.

Earliest historical evidence of the internal use of mercury.

Contemporary collateral records by foreign writers go to corroborate the date of the alchemical Tantras tentatively fixed by us, as the name and fame of mercurial remedies as used by the Hindu *yogis* had spread far and wide. The following two extracts will suffice :

"There is another class of people called *Chughi* (yogi), who were indeed properly Abrahman, but they form a religious order devoted to the idols. They are extremely long-lived, every one of them living to 150 or 200 years. They eat very little * * * and these people make use of a strange beverage, for they make a potion of sulphur and quicksilver mixed

(1) रक्तधिके स्त्री पुरुषस्तु शुक्रं नपुंसकं शोणितशुक्रमास्ये ।
यस्मादतः शुक्रविद्विद्विद्वानि निषेवितव्यानि रसायनानि ॥ १ ॥
माचीकधातुसधुपारदलीहचूर्ण-
पथ्याशिलाजतुविडङ्गवृत्तानि योऽद्यात् ।
सैकानि विंशतिरहानि जरात्वितोऽपि
सोऽशोतिकोऽपि रसयव्यवलां युवेव ॥ ३ ॥

together, and this they drink twice every month. This, they say, gives them long life ; it is a potion they are used to take from their childhood."—Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II. p. 300.

"Arghun, der Alchymie und den geheimen Wissenschaften ergeben, hatte indische Bachschi, d. h. Schreiber, gefragt, durch welche Mittel sie sich ihr Leben so langwierig fristeten. Sie gaben ihm ein aus Schwefel und Merkur zusammengesetztes Mittel als die Panacee der Lebensverlängerung ein." (1290 A. D.)—Hammer-Purgstall ; *Geschichte der Ilchane*, I. p. 391.

Alchemical
Tantras.

It is to be regretted that of the several works quoted by Mādhava, *Rasārnava* alone seems to have survived to our days. This work is almost unknown in Bengal, and extremely rare even in N. India and the Deccan. We have been fortunate enough to procure a transcript of it from the Raghunātha Temple Library, Kāśmīr, and another from the Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. As one of the earliest works of the kind, which throws a flood of light on the chemical knowledge of the Hindus about the 12th century A. D., *Rasārnava* must be regarded as a valuable national legacy. It has, besides, the merit of being the inspirer of several works of the Iatro-chemical period, notably *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* and *Rasendrachintamani*. Although *Rasārnava* as a Tantra pretends to have been revealed by the God Siva himself, its author, whoever he may be, now and then blurts out hints, which clearly prove it to have been compiled from preëxisting works, for instance, it has not hesitated, as we find, to borrow copiously from *Rasaratnākara* attributed to the renowned alchemist Nāgārjuna. Of this last work we have been able to

obtain as yet only a fragment from the Kāsmir Library ; but it has been of signal use to us, as by the parallelism of its text the genuineness and authenticity of a great portion of the *Rasārnava* have been established.

In the present volume it has been our aim to compare and collate carefully the passages in the Mss. of *Rasaratnākara*, *Rasārnava* and *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, in so far as they bear on chemistry and allied subjects ; in this way several important lacunæ have been filled up and many doubtful readings restored. Parallel passages have often been quoted in the foot-notes and cross-references given, pointing out where the probable borrowing has taken place. It is to be hoped that by instituting this sort of inter-comparison, the verbal integrity of the texts adopted may be depended upon, and the danger of interpolation has been avoided.

The translations presented do not always pretend to be strictly literal, and we hope the indulgent reader will put up with infelicities of expression here and there, which could not be avoided without taking undue liberty with the original. We have drawn very largely upon R. R. S., because it has several features to recommend. First, an excellent edition of it has been published at Puna, based upon a comparison of 13 Mss., procured from different parts of Southern India. Second, there exists a Ms. of it in the library of the Sanskrit College, Benares, in a very neat and legible handwriting, copied in samvat 1850 i.e. 1793 A.D., to which we have had access whenever required. We have also obtained a tran-

Collation of
Mss.

Recommendatory
features
of R. R. S.

script of it from the Kāsmir Library. The Benares and the Kasmir Mss. agree in all essentials, but differ in certain places from the Puna edition. The text we have adopted is thus based upon a comparison of the Deccanese and N. Indian exemplars. Third, while *Rasaratnākara* and *Rasārnava* are Tantraspüre and simple in which alchemy is incidentally dwelt upon, R.R.S. is a systematic and comprehensive treatise on materia medica, pharmacy and medicine. Its methodical and scientific arrangement of the subject-matter would do credit to any modern work, and altogether it should be pronounced a production unique of its kind in Sanskrit literature. Its value is further enhanced from the fact that the materia medica portion is harmoniously blended with chemistry.

The author, whoever he may be, is very anxious to establish his identity with Vāgbhaṭa, the celebrated author of the *Aṣṭāṅga*, and describes himself as such in the colophons at the end of every chapter (p. 43); but he forgets that in doing so he is guilty of a glaring piece of anachronism. The chemical knowledge, as revealed in the Vāgbhaṭa, is almost on a par with that in the Susruta. But this sort of utter disregard for chronological accuracy is by no means uncommon in the alchemical literature of the middle ages in Europe. The world is indebted to the genius and perseverance of M. Berthelot for unravelling the mysteries which so long hung about the writings of Geber¹; and the interval

pseudo-
Vāgbhaṭa.

[1] "L'hypothèse la plus vraisemblable à mes yeux, c'est qu-

of time between our pseudo-Vāgbhaṭa and the author of *Astāṅga* is even much wider than that between the Latin Geber and the real Geber. We are apt to be very harsh on these literary forgerers; rather we ought to give them credit for their utter self-effacement. We often forget that the spirit of the times in which they wrote was dead against them—reluctant to accept revolutionary ideas or discoveries; hence the temptation to fasten them on old and recognised authorities.

Although no direct historical evidence is available, we are not left entirely in the dark. Our author, at the very outset, names twenty seven alchemists from whose writings he derives his materials (p. 42), and later on, in the section on apparatus (p. 72), he quotes *Rasārnava* as a source of his information. Opium was not employed in medicine in his time nor is there any mention of *Ferangaroga*, (lit. the disease of the Portuguese),¹ which was introduced into India about the middle of the 16th century, and the treatment of which by means of calomel and *chob-chini* (China root) occupies a conspicuous place in the much later work, *Bhāvaprakāśa*. The date of the R.R.S. may, therefore, be placed between the 13th and 14th centuries A. D.

Probable date
of R. R. S.

un auteur latin, resté inconnu, a écrit ce livre dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, et l'a mis sous le patronage du nom vénéré de Géber; de même que les alchimistes gréco-égyptiens avaient emprunté le grand nom de Démocrite pour en couvrir leurs élucubrations."—*La Chimie au Moyen âge*, T. 1. p. 349.

(1) This is the name by which syphilis is known in the later Hindu medical works. See p. 138

CHAPTER V

Iatro-Chemical Period

Characteristics of the iatro-chemical period.

During the Tantric period, with its system of the "Philosophy of Mercury," a vast mass of chemical information was accumulated, which was pressed into signal service in the period immediately succeeding it—the Iatro-chemical Period of India. The prominent feature of the former lies in the search after the *elixir vitæ* and the powder of projection as the contents of the *Rasaratnākara* and *Rasārṇava* amply testify; whereas in the latter these phantastic and extravagant ideas, impossible of realisation, had subsided into something more practical and tangible. The numerous preparations of mercury, iron, copper and other metals, although they could not secure immortality or revive the dead, were found to be helpful accessories in medicine. At first they came to be used cautiously and tentatively, mixed up with the recipes of the Charaka and the Susruta, which are drawn chiefly from the vegetable kingdom; but they soon began to assert a supremacy of their own and even to supplant the old Ayurvedic treatment by herbs and simples. Nay more, absurd pretensions were set up on behalf of these metallic preparations. Thus in *Rasendrachiṁtāmaṇi*, a work probably co-eval with R. R. S., we come across this remarkable passage:—"Revered teacher! be pleased to instruct me, for the benefit of the weak and the timid, in a mode of treatment which will dispense with the use of the lancet, and both active and potential cau-

teries," thus putting in a plea for the indiscriminate use of mercurial remedies.

R. R. S. is a typical production of the Iatrochemical period. The name of treatises treating of medicinal chemistry is simply legion. But they are all cast in the same mould, and the close similarity of their contents would render their translation only a work of supererogation. We have, therefore, confined ourselves to quoting only such parallel passages in the foot-notes as are calculated to throw light upon or corroborate the authenticity of, the text of R. R. S.

An account of this period will be scarcely complete, which fails to take note of the conspicuous figure whom the Indian alchemists unanimously look upon as the inventor of the processes of distillation and calcination—the renowned and the venerable Nāgārjuna, the reputed author of *Kakshaputatantra*, *Rasaratnakara* and *Arogyamañjarī* etc. Our R. R. S., in the opening lines, invokes him as one of the 27 alchemists, and in the chapter on minerals quotes him as an authority. So does *Rasendrachintāmani* as also Chakrapāṇi while describing the process of roasting iron (p. 34). Nāgārjuna.

We have already seen that according to Vrinda and C. p., Nāgārjuna was the first to introduce the preparation known as *Kajjvali* (black sulphide of mercury p. 32). Dalvana also makes him the redactor of the Susruta. The mention of Nāgārjuna by all these authorities would not remove him far from the 8th or the 9th century A. D., a date which is also confirmed by Albērūnī, who says :

"A famous representative of this art [alchemy] was Nāgārjuna, a native of the fort Daihak, near Somanāth. He excelled in it and composed a book which contains the substance of the whole literature on this subject and is very rare. He lived nearly a hundred years before our time."—*India* I. p. 189.

But there are difficulties in the way of accepting this chronology of the age of Nāgārjuna. Hiouen Thsang, who resided in India from 629 A. D. onwards, relying upon local traditions, speaks of Nāgārjuna¹ as a learned and revered Buddhist and alchemist, and a friend of King Satvāhana.² The poet Vāna, a contemporary of the Chinese pilgrim, also corroborates this account in his life of King Harsha.

In the Buddhist canonical literature, Nāgārjuna is a prominent figure as the founder, or, at any rate, the systematiser of the Mādhyamika philosophy. Western scholars maintain that he lived in the 1st century A. D., while according to *Rājataranṅinī* the "History of Kasmīr" by

(1) "Nāgārjuna Bodhisatva was well practised in the art of compounding medicines ; by taking a preparation (pill or cake), he nourished the years of life for many hundreds of years, so that neither the mind nor appearance decayed. Satvāha-rajā had partaken of this mysterious medicine."—Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II. p. 212.

Again :—"Then Nāgārjuna Bodhisatva, by moistening all the great stones with a divine and superior decoction (medicine or mixture), changed them into gold."—*Ibid.*, p. 216.

(2) "Nāgārjuna was a friend of Satvāhana, a king of Kosala country to the South West of Uṛiṣya and watered by the upper feeders of the Mahānadi."—*Ibid.* II. p. 209. As to the age of Satvāhana see Burgess' *Archaeological Survey of S. India*. Regarding Nāgārjuna see also *Introd. à l'histoire du Buddh. Ind.* p. 508.

Kalhaza Misra (11 century A. D.), Nāgārjuna flourished 150 years after Sākyasiṃha had be-taken himself to asceticism, i.e. he lived in the last quarter of the 4th and first quarter of the 3rd century B. C. It is doubtful, however, if Nāgārjuna, the philosopher, is the same as Nāgārjuna, the alchemist, considering that we find no reference whatever to the processes of distillation, sublimation etc. in the Charaka, the Susruta, and the Vāgbhata, though it must be admitted that the latter can lay claim to superior chemical knowledge. (see p. xxvii).

We have also another alchemist in Patañjali, who is better known as the commentator of Pāṇini. He probably lived in the 2nd century B. C.¹ Sivadāsa, in his commentary of Chakrapāṇi, quotes him as an authority on *Lohasāstra*, or the "Science of Iron," and Chakrapāṇi himself speaks of him as the redactor of Charaka (see p. x). Bhoja in his *Nyāyavārtika* speaks of Patañjali, as a physician both to the mind and to the body.² The *moksha* (salvation), as taught in the Yoga system of Patañjali, is also connected with alchemy.³ We have already seen, while discussing the "Philosophy of Mercury" (see

Patañjali

(1) Prof. Bhandarkar : *Ind. Antiquary*, 1872, pp. 299-302.

(2) "योगेन चित्तस्य पदेन वाचां मलं शरीरस्य तु वेद्यकेन ।

योऽपाकरोत् तं प्रवरं मुनीनां पतञ्जलिं प्राञ्जलिरानतीऽस्मि ॥"

—Bhoja : *Nyāyavārtika*, quoted by Sivarāma, the commentator of *Vāsavadatta*.

(3) "The author (Patañjali) adds to the three parts of the path of liberation a fourth one of an illusory nature, called *Rasāyana*, consisting of alchemistic tricks with various drugs, intended to realise things which by nature are impossible."—Albērcūni's *India*—I. p. 80.

ante p. xlv), that *Rasāyana* or Alchemy was simply regarded as a means to an end—as a path leading to *moksha*. It is significant that this connection can be traced from so early a date.

Progress of
chemical
knowledge in
Europe.

In the present volume we shall seldom have occasion to go beyond the 14th century A. D. It will, perhaps, add to the interest of the subject, if we turn our eyes for a moment to the progress of chemical knowledge in Europe at that time, and the alchemistic ideas and beliefs dominating it. Contemporary with the authors of *Rasārnava* and *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, were Roger Bacon (d. 1294), Albertus Magus, Raymond Lully, and Arnaldus Villanovanus. Roger Bacon does not hesitate to assert that the philosopher's stone was able to transform a million times its weight of base metal into gold. The above-named alchemists are also unanimous in regarding it as a universal medicine, and "it was no unusual assertion that adepts, the fortunate possessors of the panacea, had been able to prolong their lives to 400 years and more."—Meyer. The readers of *Rasārnava* and the other Tantras will not fail to find that there is much in common between the Hindu alchemists and their European *Confrères*.

Knowledge
in practical
chemistry,
prevalent in
India in the
12th and 13th
centuries A. D.,
and perhaps
earlier.

The knowledge in practical chemistry, prevalent in India in the 12th and 13th centuries A. D., and perhaps earlier, such as we are enabled to glean from *Rasarnava* and similar works, is distinctly in advance of that of the same period in Europe. It was known for instance that blue vitriol and a variety of the pyrites (see p. 39)

yielded an essence in the shape of copper ; and calamine, zinc. The metallurgical processes, described under the latter, leave little to improve upon (p. 49), and, indeed, they may be transferred bodily to any treatise on modern chemistry. Even Paracelsus, who flourished some three centuries later, leaves us in the dark as to the nature of his "zinken," which he designates a "semi" or "bastard" metal. And Libavius (d. 1616) "who stood up manfully against the excesses of Paracelsus, and who vigorously combated the defects in his doctrines, * * * and the employment of "secret remedies," believed in the transmutation of the metals and the efficacy of potable gold.¹ It is not necessary to pursue this subject further here, as details will be found in the chapter on metallurgy (pp. 83-92).

The truth is that up till the time of pseudo-Basil Valentine (ca. 1600 A. D.), very little scientific progress was achieved in Europe. The doctrines of Aristotle and of the Arabian alchemists held the ground, and the enigmatic and mystic language, which was often used as a cloak for ignorance, simply confounded the confusion.

Still more solid progress was effected in pharmacy. For two thousand years or more the Charaka and the Susruta have been paid all the honours of a state-recognised Pharmacopœia. Partly due to their being regarded as of revealed origin, and partly due to that veneration for the past, which is inherent in the Hindu, the text of the above works has seldom been allowed to be

(1) *Gesch. d. chem.* I. 113.

tampered with. A critical examination of the Bower Ms., such as we owe to Dr. Hoernle, shows that the recipes of several important preparations agree in all essentials, and sometimes word for word, with those of the Charaka and the Susruta of the existing recensions (see *ante* p. xix). Mr. Ameer Ali is scarcely correct when he claims that "the Arabs invented chemical pharmacy, and were the founders of those institutions which are now called dispensaries."¹

We have only to refer our reader to the chapter on the preparation of caustic alkali, in the Susruta, with the direction that the strong lye is to be "preserved in an iron vessel," as a proof of the high degree of perfection in scientific pharmacy achieved by the Hindus at an early age (p. 22). It is absolutely free from any trace of quackery or charlatanism, and is a decided improvement upon the process described by a Greek writer of the XIth century, as unearthed by M. Berthelot.² As regards *dispensaries* and hospitals, every one knows that Buddhistic India was studded with them (*vide* p. xxxii).

Speaking of the progress of chemistry in Europe in the XVIth century, Prof. Schorlemmer remarks :—

"Up to the XVIth century almost the sole object of chemical research had been to find the philosopher's stone. But now chemistry began to develop itself two new and different paths, opened by two distinguished men—Agricola, the father of metallurgy, and Paracelsus, the founder of Iatro-chemistry or medical

(1) *Hist. of the Saracens*, p. 162. Ed. 1899.

(2) See p. 22

chemistry. Both contributed chiefly to the development of inorganic chemistry * * * In opposition to the school of Galen and Avicenna, Paracelsus and his followers chiefly employed metallic preparations as medicines." ¹

Udoy Chand Dutt, in the preface to his *Materia Medica of the Hindus* states :—

"The oldest work, containing a detailed account of the calcination or preparation of the different metals (such as gold, silver, iron, mercury, copper, tin and lead) for internal use with formulæ for their administration, is, I believe, a concise treatise on medicinal preparations by Sārṅgadharma."

This is evidently a mistake. Sārṅgadharma is simply a compilation based upon the Charaka and the Susruta on the one hand, and the Tantric works described above on the other. It cannot be regarded as going beyond the latter part of the 14th century, and it will come under our notice in the second volume of the present work. In the European histories of chemistry, the credit of being the first to press chemical knowledge into the service of medicine and introduce the use of the internal administration of mercurial preparations, is given to Paracelsus (1493-1541). The Nāgārjunas and the Patañjalis of India, however, had the merit of anticipating Paracelsus and his followers by several centuries. The earliest historical record of the internal use of black sulphide of mercury dates so far back as the 10th century A. D. at the latest ² (see *ante*

(1) *Rise and development of Organic Chemistry*, (ed. 1894.) p. 9.

(2) In Europe, its use dates from the 17th century. "Das schwarze Schwefelquecksilber lehrte zuerst Turquet de Mayerne, im Anfange des 17. Jahrhunderts, durch Zusammenreiben von

p. 32). We have, indeed, reasons to suspect that Paracelsus got his ideas from the East, and in Chapter on *Arabian Indebtedness to India* we have pointed out the media through which Indian sciences filtered into Europe.

Dutt says : "We cannot help admiring the ingenuity and the boldness of the Hindu physicians, when we find that they were freely and properly using such powerful drugs as arsenic, mercury, iron, etc., when the Mussulman Hakims around them with imperial patronage and the boasted learning of the West, recording such remarks regarding them as the following :—

"Soombookhar, 'the white oxide of arsenic.'—There are six kinds of this, one named Sunkia, the third Godanta, the fourth Darma, the fifth Huldea. The Yunāni physicians do not allow this to form a part of their prescriptions, as they believe it destroys the vital principle. The physicians of India, on the contrary, find these drugs more effectual in many disorders than others of less power, such as the clax of metals. For this reason too I am in the habit of seldom giving these remedies internally, but I usually confine my use of them to external application and as aphrodisiacs which I prescribe to a few friends, who may have derived no benefit from Yunāni prescriptions. It is better to use as few of them as possible." ¹

"Pārā, 'Mercury.'—It is very generally used throughout India in many ways, both in its native and prepared state, but in the latter we ought to be very cautious, for it is seldom sufficiently killed or removed from its native state, in which it is a dangerous drug." ²

warmen Quecksilber mit geschmolzenem Schwefel darstellen." — Kopp : *Gesch.* vol. IV, 186.

1) *Taleef Shareef* trans. George Playfair, p. 99.

2) *Ibid.* page 26.

"Loha, 'Iron.'—It is commonly used by physicians in India, but my advice is to have as little to do with it as possible." ¹

Nor must we forget that so late as 1566 A.D., the Parliament and the Faculty of Medicine, Paris, condemned and forbade what was regarded as the dangerous innovations of Paracelsus.²

Apart from the historical data already adduced, the above extracts from a Mohammedan writer would show that the Hindus were perhaps the earliest in the field to advocate the internal use of mercury.³ Ainslie, in a note appended to "Lepra Arabum," written in the early part of the last century, thus expresses his views on the subject :—

"It is well known that the Eastern nations were the first who employed mercury in the cure of obstinate, cutaneous and leprous affections ; and it may be questioned whether the natives of India were before the Arabians or only second in order in availing themselves of the virtues of that powerful mineral. Rhases, ⁴

(1) *Talcef Shareef*, page 146.

(2) *Gesch. d. Chem.* 1, 110.

(3) Of course, we are keeping China out of view. Cf. "The *Elixir of life* and the art of transmuting metals had been sought after in the East long before the Arabs introduced the study of alchemy into Europe. The philosopher's stone is the *tan sha* of the Chinese *i.e.* the red bisulphuret of mercury or cinnabar"—Beal's *Buddhist Records*, II. 56.

(4) "Argentum vivum cum extinguitur ardens est, quod scabei, et pediculis auxilium offert"—Rhazes : *de Re med.* (lib iii. cap. xxiv). In the days of Pliny the Elder the medicinal virtues of mercury do not appear to have been at all ascertained ; that writer termed quicksilver the *banc* and poison of all things and what would with more propriety be called *death* silver. (*Nat. Hist.* lib xxxiii. Cap vi).

Mesu and Avicenna¹ all notice it, and according to Fallopius, as we find observed by Le Clerc in his *Histoire de la Médecine* pp. 771-791, it was the opinions of those writers which first suggested its use in venereal diseases."²

From the evidences we have adduced all along there can now be scarcely any question as regards the priority of the Hindus in making mercurial remedies a speciality; and they are entitled to claim originality in respect of the internal administration of metals generally, seeing that the Charaka and the Susruta, not to speak of the later Tantras, are eloquent over their virtues.

CHAPTER VI

INDEBTEDNESS OF THE ARABIANS TO INDIA

The Arabians are acknowledged on all hands to have played a prominent part in the propagation of science and mathematics in the West. When, in the dark and middle ages, the lamp of knowledge had begun to burn very low in Europe, and even when the very vestiges of Greek culture and learning had all but disappeared, save in the obscure and dingy cells of the monk, it was the Arabs who carried there the accumulated intellectual treasures of the East, and thus laid the foundation, so to speak, of modern European greatness.

(1) Avicenna says of mercury "argentum vivum extinctum adversus pediculos et lendes cum rosaseo oleo valet." *Vide canon med. lib. ii. tract. ii. p. 119.*

2) *Trans. R. As. Soc.* (1824-27).

It will, perhaps, be not out of place to discuss here briefly as to how much India indirectly contributed to this result in the departments of medicine, pharmacy and other kindred subjects.

The author of *Kitāb-al-Fihrist*, who wrote towards the middle of the tenth century,¹ Haji Khalifa and Ibn Abú Usaibiah, who flourished at the commencement of the 13th century, distinctly mention that by order of the Caliphs Harun and Mansur several standard Hindu works on medicine, materia medica and therapeutics were translated into Arabic. The information on the subject has been gathered at length by Dietz in his *Analecta medica*, Wustensfeld, author of *Geschichte der Arab. Aerzte*, Cureton,² Flügel, Müller and other Arabic scholars.

Flügel³ states on the authority of *Kitāb-al-Fihrist* that *Susrud* (the Sanskrit name Susruta,

(1)“Abu'l Faraj Mohammed bin Ishāk, surnamed au-Nadim, a native of Bagdad, first conceived the idea of a bibliographical dictionary. His *Kitāb-ul-Fihrist* deals with every branch of learning. It gives the names of many authors and their works which have ceased to exist.”—*Hist. of the Saracens* by Ameer Ali, p. 469.

(2) Prof. H. H. Wilson in a *Note* appended to a paper by the Rev. W. Cureton entitled “A collection of such passages relative to India as may occur in Arabic writers” thus pithily summarises his own views :—“In medicine the evidence is more positive, and it is clear that the *Charaka*, the *Susruta*, the treatise called *Nidāna* on diagnosis, and others on poisons, diseases of women and therapeutics, all familiar to Hindu Science, were translated and studied by the Arabs in the days of Harun and Mausur, either from the originals or translations, made at a still earlier period, into the language of Persia.”—*Journ. Royal. Asiatic Soc.* old series, vi. pp. 105-115.

(3) “Zur Frage über die ältesten Uebersetzungen indischer und persischer medicinischer Werke ins Arabische :” *Ziet. deut. morg. Ges.* xi. pp. 148 and 325.

thus corrupted into Arabic) was translated by Mankh, the Indian, who cured Harun ar-Raschid of a severe illness, and was appointed physician in charge of the Royal Hospital. We also learn that a work on the officinal plants of India was rendered into Arabic by the same Mankh. The other comprehensive Sanskrit treatise, the Charaka, was also fully laid under contribution.

We have ample and overwhelming testimony of Arabic writers, notably of Haji Khalifa, that Hindu astronomy, algebra, and medicine were zealously studied by their compatriots, and many Hindu savants were induced to reside at the Court of the Caliphs as their instructors. Mussulman students, in their eager thirst for knowledge, used to flock to the centres of learning in India, and there drank deep at the very fountain-head. Indeed, it had come to be regarded as an essential part of completing one's liberal education to travel to India and learn the sciences firsthand.

That this is no language of rhetoric will be evident from the extracts quoted below from Gildemeister's *Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis loci et opuscula*:

"Etiam Muhammed ben Ismail al Tanûkhi in Indiam profectus est eo imprimis consilio, ut Indorum astronomiam cognosceret.,

"Ibn Albaithâr, rei herbariae inter Arabes peritissimus, qui ad eius disciplinae studium longinqua itinera per Hispaniam Africam et Asiam instituit, etiam in Indiam venit, teste Leone Africano; Abulfadâ tamen et Ibn Abi Uçaibia, qui de eius vita scripserunt, eius rei mentionem non faciunt." p. 80.

"Sed etiam accuratius edocti erant, et scite iam vetus Indopleusta eas disciplinas, in quibus Indi maxime

excellerent, nominat has : medicinam, philosophiam et astronomiam. Eodem modo Hag'i Khalfa arithmetica, geometriam, medicinam, astronomiam et metaphysicam enumerat." p. 81.

"De libris ex Indica lingua in Arabicam conversis iam inter Arabes egerunt ii, qui libros de re literaria composuere. Plurimi de iis sine dubio apud Hag'i Khalfam legentur, cuius hucusque pars tantum publico usui patet. De antiquioribus his libris locuplēs testis est antiquissimus de Arabum literis scriptor Ibn Abi Yaquḇ ibn Alnadīm, qui in *Indice scientiarum* * * * * * quem scripsit anno 337 (inc. 10 Iul. 948) inter monumenta literarum Arabicarum etiam peculiari cura egit de libris e linguis Graeca, Persica et Indica conversis." p. 82.

Haas, whose criticism of the Susruta we have already noticed, having once taken up the position of denying the antiquity of Hindu medicine with special regard to the Charaka and the Susruta, was driven to the necessity of discounting, nay, explaining away, the numerous references to Hindu works made by Mussulman writers. This had the effect of eliciting a reply from Müller, who subjected the Arabic literature bearing on the subject to a crucial examination, especially Book XII of Useibia. He finds that not only the Charaka and the Susruta, but also the *Nidāna* and the compendium *Asānkar*,¹ a book on Poison by Sānāq the Indian, and another on Warm and Cold, and several other works were rendered into Arabic. This German orientalist also arrives at the conclusion that Indian physicians practised at the Court of Bagdad.²

Müller's refutation of Haas

(1) A Variant has *Astankar*, which will be readily identified as the *Astānga* of Vāgbhaṭa (see p. xxvi.)

(2) "Schon vor Er-Rasid, vielleicht sogar gleichzeitig mit dem

Albērūnī's
evidence

We have now to place before the reader the evidence of a remarkable author—remarkable alike for the depth of his learning, versatility of his genius, rare impartiality of his judgment and his singular freedom from race-bias.

Albērūnī lived in India from 1017-1030 A. D., and during this long sojourn he mastered Sanskrit and studied Hindu mathematics and philosophy in the original. At a time when his patron, Sultan Mahmud of Ghzni, was busy pillaging the temples in Thaneshwar, Mathura, Kanauj and Somnath with the zeal of an iconoclast, this philosophic Moslem was pondering over the *Sāṃkhya* and the *Pātañjala*, and instituting a comparison between their contents and those of the *Timæus* and its commentator, Proclus.

We have elsewhere quoted at length Albērūnī's views on Rasāyana (alchemy); it now remains for us to glean such information from him as will throw light on the subject under inquiry. According to Sachau, the learned translator of Albērūnī, "some of the books that had been translated under the first Abbaside Caliphs were extant in the library of Albērūnī, when he wrote his *India*, the *Brahmasiddhānta* or *Sindhind*.....the *Charaka* in the edition of Ali Ibn Zain and the *Pañchatantra* or *Kalila* and *Dimna*." The fact that the *Charaka* occupied a place in the library of a cultured Arab affords

Uebergänge indischer Astronomie nach Bagdad.....haben sich auch indische Aerzte in Bagdad eingefunden." (Loc. cit. p. 499). "Arabische Quellen zur Geschichte der indischen Medizin."—*Zeit. deut. morg. Ges.* 34, p. 465.

an additional proof of the esteem in which the Hindu system of medicine was held by the Moslem world. We also learn that "the Christian philosopher and physician from Bagdad, Abulkahir Alkhamnour, friend of Albērūnī, seems to have practised in Ghazni his medical profession" (Sachau). This is significant as indicating that both the Greek and Hindu systems held sway side by side ; but more of it anon.¹

So far as regards historical evidence. Let us now see if any *internal* evidence could be gathered in corroboration of the former. Reference has already been made to the Book on Poisons by Sānāq the Indian. We shall cite here some parallel passages on the Examination of Poisoned Food and Drink. These are the chief characteristics as given by Sānāq, the Charaka and the Susruta respectively.

Internal evidence

(1) "Dietz also in his *Analecta Medica* proves that the later Greek physicians were acquainted with the medical works of the Hindus, and availed themselves of their medicaments ; but he more particularly shows that the Arabians were familiar with them, and extolled the healing art, as practised by the Indians, quite as much as that in use among the Greeks."—Royle : *Antiq. Hind. Med.* p. 64.

SANĀQ THE INDIAN

THE CHARAKA

THE SUSRUTA

The vapor emitted by poisoned food has the colour of the throat of the peacock when the food is thrown into the fire, it rises high in the air; the fire makes a crackling sound as when salt deflagrates the smoke has the smell of a burnt corpse. Poisoned drinks: butter milk and thin milk have a light blue to yellow line.

The food is to be thrown into fire for testing. . . the flame becomes parti-coloured like the plume of a peacock. The tongue of the flame also becomes pointed; a crackling sound is emitted the smell of a putrid corpse is perceived. . . . Water, milk and other drinking liquids, when mixed with poison, have blue lines printed upon.—"Chikitsā," Ch. xxiii, 29-30.

When poisoned food is thrown into fire, it makes a crackling sound and the flame issuing therefrom is tinted like the throat of the peacock.—"Kalpa," Ch. i, 27.

The physician, as superintendent of the kitchen, well-versed in toxicology, is essentially an Indian institution. Cf. Susruta, *Kalpa*, Ch. I. 6-9

Müller has pointed out the parallelism as shown above. We have, however, added to it the diagnostic test of poisoned food as given in the Charaka, and it will be seen that Sānāq was equally indebted to this authority and to the Susruta.

The description of leeches as given by Rases agrees almost word for word with that of the Susruta (Sanasrad) in many places.

SUSRUTA

RASES, QUOTING SANASRAD

The variety of leeches called *Krishnā* is black in colour and have thick heads, *Karvurās* have their bodies, like that of eels with ele-

Of the leeches one is poisonous, which is intensely black like antimony having a large head: and scales like certain fishes and having

vated stripes across their abdomen. *Alagadhās* have hairs on their bodies, large sides and black mouths, *Indrāyudhās* have longitudinal lines along their back, *of the colour of the rainbow.*

the middle green : also another upon which are hairs, has a large head and *different colour like the rainbow ;*

Sāmudrikās are of a dark-yellow colour and have variegated spots on their bodies resembling flowers in appearance. *Gochandanās* have bifurcated tails like the two horns of a cow and small heads. *When these poisonous leeches bite any person, the bitten parts become swollen and very itchy, and fainting, fever, burning of the body, vomiting, mental derangement and languor occur. In these cases the medicine called Mahā-gada should be administered internally, applied externally and used as snuff. The bite of the leech called Indrāyudha is fatal. Such is the description of the poisonous leeches, and their treatment.*

Now the non-poisonous leeches. Their names are as follows : *Kapilā, Pingalā Sankumukhī, Mūshikā, Pundarikamukhī and Sāvarikā.*

in the colour of which there are lines as in blue-spar, bluestone, azure—*which often bites : thence will be caused abscess with fainting : with coma and relaxing of the joints : nevertheless of these very leeches there is a good one which is assimilated to the colour of water ;*

Kaṭpilā have their sides of
the colour of orpiment

in which there
will be greenness having up-
on it two lines like *arsenic*
[orpiment] but light red,

and
their back smooth and of the
colour of the pulse called
mudga (*Phaseolus mungo*).
Pingalās have round bodies,
move quickly, and are of
slightly red or tawny colour.
Sāṅkhumukhlās are liver-
coloured, suck blood quick-
ly, and have large sharp
mouths.

bay
coloured and corresponding
to the colours of liver :
which are swift to draw to
themselves fine blood :

Mushikas have
the colour and shape of
rats and a bad smell.

which
are assimilated to the tail
[colour] of a mouse : having
a horrible smell * * *

Pundarikās have mouths like
the lotus and are of the
colour of the pulse of
Phaseolus mungo. *Sāvarikās*
have green colour like the
leaf of the lotus, are func-
tuous, and eighteen fingers
in length. They are used
only for extracting blood

from beasts. Such is the description of the non-poisonous leeches. The non-poisonous leeches are found in Turkey, *Pāṇḍya* (the country to the south), *Sahya* (a mountain on the banks of the *Narbadā*) and *Pauratana* (the tract of country about Mathurā). Of non-poisonous leeches, those which are stronger and have large bodies, can drink blood rapidly and eat much, are especially free from poison.

And having the belly red along with blackness and the back green :

Leeches which are produced in dirty water and from the decomposition of poisonous fishes, insects, frogs, urine and fœces are poisonous. *Those produced in pure water* and from the decomposition of the different varieties of the *Nelumbium Speciosum* and of the *Nymphaea lotus* and of *Saivāla* (*Blyxa octandra*) are non-poisonous.

they are bitter but they will be worse in bad water quite stagnant : in which are many small tadpole frogs : nevertheless, they are good in good and excellent water,

The varieties of *Nymphaea* and *Nelumbium* mentioned here are *padma*, *utpala*, *kumuda*, *nalina*, *kuvalaya*, *saugandhika* and *pundarika*.

On this subject there is

the following verse :—Non poisonous leeches go about in the fields and fragrant waters. They do not live in confined places or lie in mud as they seek comfort. These should be caught by means of wet-leather or some other article. They should be kept in a new large earthen pot filled with mud and water from a tank. Mosses, dried flesh and powdered tubers of water-plants should be given them for food. For bedding they should be furnished with grasses and leaves of water-plants. Fresh water and food should be given every second or third day, and every seventh day the earthen pot should be changed. On this subject there is the following verse :

Leeches which are very thin or thick or with their central portions thick, which move slowly or do not stick to the part to which they are applied, which drink little blood, or which are poisonous, are not fit for use. When about to apply leeches on a person who has got a disease curable by them, the patient should be made to sit or lie down. The affected

also when they are seized or caught, let them be put away while all that which is in their own belly is being purged : also they ought not to be put on except in a place not healthy :

part, if free from pain, should be rubbed with a little cow-dung and earth. The leeches should then be taken hold off and smeared with a mixture of turmeric and mustard reduced to a paste with water. They should then be placed for a while in a cup of water, till they are relieved of their weariness and afterwards applied to the diseased part. *When being applied, their mouths should be left open and their bodies covered with fine white wet rags.*

If they do not bite, a drop of milk or blood should be applied to, or a small incision may be made on the diseased part. If even by these means a leech cannot be applied, it should be changed for another.

A leech is known to have fixed itself to the part when it raises its shoulder and bends its head like a horse shoe. When fixed it should be covered with a piece of wet cloth and a little water sprinkled on it occasionally. If the part bitten by a leech

also anointments ought to be made around the place with paste that they may not touch the healthy place : also as often as leeches are applied, put over them a fine soaked cloth :

If a leech does not stick let the place be anointed with milk or with blood : if it still refuses to bite, let another be applied in the place of it :

itches or is painful, it is a sign that the leech is drawing pure blood and it should be removed from the part.

If from fondness for blood it cannot be readily removed, a little rock salt should be sprinkled on its head. †

but if you wish that they fall off, sprinkle their heads (mouths) with salt and keep them in a jar. ‡

There is thus unmistakable evidence here of the use of a chapter of the Susruta or some such work.

Then again several drugs, which are repeatedly mentioned in the Charaka and are almost exclusively Indian products, have been borrowed in the materia medica of Useibiah and others. The following may be taken as examples: Pepper,¹ lac, nard,² liquorice, assafoetida, occimum sanctum, bdellium, cinnamon, the chebulic myrobalans, calamus acorus, agallacha,³ berberis

† Dutt's Trans.

‡ The version of Rases, being in the "dog" Latin of the middle ages, is not always very intelligible to us.

(1) Dioscorides also mentions the three peppers. Arabian physicians of the tenth century also describe their properties. See Dymock, Warden and Hooper's *Pharmacographia Indica*, III. pp. 176-185.

(2) *Nardostachys jatamansi*, the Nardin of Dioscorides, called also *Gangitis*, because the Ganges flowed from the foot of the mountains where the plant grew: *ibid* II. p. 234.

(3) For discussion of agallocha (Sans. अगुरु), see also *Script. arab. de Reb. Ind.*, pp. 65-72.

asiatica,¹ myrrh, melia azadirechta, calotropis (asclepias), and red sandal. To quote Gildemeister :

"Ex hac Indiae parte asportatur agallochum Kumârense, quod inde nomen cepit." p. 156.

"Abuldhali Sindius dum Indiae regiones describit, dicit :

"Negarunt quidem sodales mei nec tamen istud praestantissimum est.

"Quando laudabatur India Indaque sagitta in campo caedis.

"Per vitam meam ! terra est : in quam si pluvia decidit,

"Contingunt hyacinthi et uniones ei qui monilibus caret.

"Ibi originem habent muscus et camphora et ambarum et agallochum

"Et aromatum genera, quibus utantur qui inodori sunt,

"Et odoramentorum species et myristica et spica nardi ;

"Ibi ebur et tectonae lignum, ibi lignum aloes et santalum

"Ibique est tutia montis instar longissimi," pp. 217-218.

That the *Charaka* should be changed by Arabic writers into *Sarak*, *Susruta* into *Susrud*, *Nidāna* into *Badan*, *Astānga* into *Asankar* and so forth, need not at all surprise us. Such transformations can well be explained on phonetic principles. Moreover, one must remember

(1) The extract of the wood was also known to the Greeks under the name of Indian Lycium. *Pharm. Ind.*, 1. 65.

Cf. "Among the strictly Indian products, we have the two kinds of Pepper (long and round), Cardamoms and Ginger (?) . . . the *Dolichos*, mentioned by Hippocrates and Theophrastus, as well as by later authors, is considered to be *Phascolus Vulgaris*, and to have been introduced from India in the time of Alexander." Royle : *Antiquity of Hindu Med.*, Lond., 1837, p. 112.

that the Indian works translated into Arabic were sometimes derived from preëxisting Phelvi versions, and in the migrations through successive languages, the names often got frightfully disfigured. A notable instance of this kind is afforded by the fables of Pilpay (Kalila and Dimna¹) from which La Fontaine borrowed the idea of several of his fables as he himself acknowledges : "I shall only say, from a sense of gratitude, that I owe the largest portion of them to Pilpay, the Indian sage." It has now been made out that Pilpay or Bidpai is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *vidyāpati* (master of learning).

Even long before the time of the Caliphs, India was the favourite resort of the students of medicine and other sciences. Thus Barzouh-yeh, a contemporary of the celebrated Sassanian king Nashirvān, (A. D. 531-572), visited India to acquire proficiency in the Indian sciences.²

Arabian indebtedness to India ignored by the European historians of chemistry

Thomson, Hoefer, Kopp, and Berthelot have done ample justice to the claims of the Arabians as the originators or, at any rate, as the propagators of alchemy in Europe in the middle ages. M. Berthelot, indeed, has recently shown that the ideas and theories, as regards alchemy, humoral

(1) ". . . . et malgré l'espèce de transformation que ce livre a dû subir en passant de l'indien en pehlvi, du pehlvi en arabe, de l'arabe en persan, on y retrouve encore des caractères frappans de cette origin"— de Sacy : *Calila et Dimna ou Fables de Bidpai*, (1816), p. 5.

(2) ". . . . que Barzouyèh dans sa jeunesse, avoit déjà fait un premier voyage dans l'Inde, pour y rechercher des substances médicinales et de simples, et que c'était dans ce voyage qu'il avoit acquis la connoissance de la langue et de l'écriture Indiennes" *ibid.*, p. 23.

pathology and physiology, which were promulgated in the writings of Geber, Rases, Avicenna, Bubacar and others, were essentially Greek in origin, though extended and improved upon by the Arabians. The French savant has, however, presented only one side of the shield.¹ In short, European historians of chemistry have scarcely one word to say on the indebtedness of the Arabians to the Hindus, who contributed not a little to the making of a Rases, a Serapion, or an Avicenna, who, in turn, were the chief inspirers of the European iatro-chemists down to the 17th century.²

Prof. Sachau, the learned translator and editor of Albēṛūnī's *India*, however, does justice to the claims of both Greece and India in this respect, when he remarks :—

Prof. Sachau
however, does
justice to the
claims of
India

“The cradle of Arabic literature is not Damascus but Bagdad, the protection necessary for its growth being afforded by the Caliphs of the house of Abbas.

“The foundation of Arabic literature was laid be-

(1) Cf “—les Arabes, héritiers et traducteurs de la science grecque.”—Berthelot : *La Chimie au moyen âge*, I., préface, ii. “Les sciences naturelles furent surtout étudiées aux ix^e et x^e siècles, dans la célèbre école des médecins syriens de Bagdad, attirés et protégés par les califes leurs clients. Dioscoride, Galien, Paul d'Egine furent ainsi traduits du grec en syriaque, puis en arabe ; parfois même traduits directement dans cette dernière langue,” *ibid*, iv. “Les califes recherchaient les savants syriens, à cause de leur habileté médicale.....or toute leur science venait des Grecs” *ibid* II., Introduction, iii.

(2) Speaking of Albert the Great and Roger Bacon, Kopp writes : “beide haben aus derselben Quelle, den Arabern, geschöpft.” *Gesch. d. chem.* 1. 64. Draper equally ignores the contributions of the Hindus : *e.g.*, “The teachers of the Saracens were the Nestorians and the Jews.” *Hist. Intell. Dev. of Europe*, Vol I. p. 384, ed. 1896.

tween 750-850 A. D. The development of a large literature with numerous ramifications, carried out with foreign materials, as in Rome the *origines* of the national literature mostly point to Greek sources. Greece, Persia and India were taxed to help the sterility of the Arab mind."

We cannot conclude this chapter better than sum up its substance in the words of Prof. Sachau :—

"What India has contributed reached Bagdad by two different roads. Part has come directly in translations from the Sanskrit, part has travelled through Eran, having originally been translated from Sanskrit (Pāli? Prākṛit?) into Persian, and farther from Persian into Arabic. In this way, *e.g.* the fables of *Kālila and Dimna* have been communicated to the Arabs, and a book on medicine, probably the famous *Charaka*. Cf. *Fihrist*, p. 303.

"In this communication between India and Bagdad we must not only distinguish between two different roads, but also between two different periods.

"As Sindh was under the actual rule of the Khalif Mansūr (A. D. 753-774), there came embassies from that part of India to Bagdad, and among them scholars, who brought along with them two books, the *Brahmasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta (Sindhind), and his *Khandakhādya* (Arkand). With the help of these pandits, Alfāzari, perhaps also Yakūb Ibn Tārik, translated them. Both works have been largely used, and have exercised a great influence. It was on this occasion that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. They learned from Brahmagupta earlier than from Ptolemy.

"Another influx of Hindu learning took place under Harun, A. D. 786-808. The ministerial family Barmak, then at the zenith of their power, had come with the ruling dynasty from Balkh, where an ancestor of theirs had been an official in the Buddhistic

temple *Naubehār*, i. e. *navavihāra*, the new temple (or monastery). The name Barmak is said to be of Indian descent, meaning *paramaka*, i. e. the superior (abbot of the *vihāra*?). Cf. Kern, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, ii, 445, 543. Of course, the Barmak family had been converted, but their contemporaries never thought much of their profession of Islam, nor regarded it as genuine. Induced probably by family traditions, they sent scholars to India, there to study medicine and pharmacology. Besides, they engaged Hindu scholars to come to Bagdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and ordered them to translate from Sanskrit into Arabic, books on medicine, pharmacology, toxicology, philosophy, astrology and other subjects. Still in later centuries Muslim scholars sometimes travelled for the same purposes as the emissaries of the Barmak, e. g. Almuwaffak, not long before Alberūnī's time (*Codex Vindobonensis, sive medici Abu Mansur liber fundamentorum pharmacologiæ*, ed. Seligmann, Vienna, 1859, pp. 6, 10, and 15, 9)."

We shall finish with another appropriate extract from Prof. Macdonell's recent work ¹ :—

"In Science, too, the debt of Europe to India has been considerable. There is, in the first place, the great fact that the Indians invented the numerical figures used all over the world. The influence which the decimal system of reckoning dependent on those figures has had not only on mathematics, but on the progress of civilisation in general, can hardly be over-estimated. During the 8th and 9th centuries the Indians became the teachers in arithmetic and algebra of the Arabs, and through them of the nations of the West. Thus, though we call the latter science by an Arabic name, it is a gift we owe to India."

So also Prof.
Macdonell

(1) *Hist. Sans. Lit.* p. 424.

THE AYURVEDIC PERIOD

(From the pre-Buddhistic Era to circa 800 A. D.)

CHAPTER I

The Constitution and Properties of Matter : the Atomic Theory

It is not our purpose to discuss in the present volume the theories dominating Hindu medicine and, incidentally, chemistry. A concise preliminary summary of some of the salient features of the Sāṃkhya and Vaiśeṣhika systems of philosophy is, however, absolutely needed in order to follow with advantage the excerpts given in this book from the Charaka, the Suśruta and other works. In connection with this, it would also be interesting to compare the indebtedness of Hippocrates to the doctrines of Parmenides, Empedocles and other philosophers of the same school.¹

Kaṇāda, the founder of the Vaiśeṣhika system, chiefly occupied himself with the study of the properties of matter. The atomic theory, as propounded by him, has many points in common with that of the Greek philosopher, Democritus. His theory of the propagation of sound cannot fail to excite our wonder and admiration even at this distant date. No less remarkable is his statement that *light and heat are only different forms of the same essential substance*. But Kaṇāda is anticipated in many material points by Kapila, the reputed originator of the Sāṃkhya philosophy. With the purely metaphysical aspects of these systems we are not concerned here. Their theories of matter and its constitution alone fall within the scope of our present enquiry. We shall now briefly refer to some of their doctrines.

The Sāṃkhya, in common with other systems of Hindu philosophy, teaches that salvation in after-life is only attainable by perfect knowledge. According to Kapila, there are three sources of knowledge which consists in right discrimination of the percep-

(1) *Œuvres d' Hippocrate, par E. Littré, Paris, 1839, Tome 1, pp. 13 et seq.*

tible and imperceptible principles of the material world from the immaterial soul. He enumerates these principles to be twenty-five in number. For our present purpose, however, a few of these only come within our purview. These we will present to our readers in the inimitable language of Colebrooke, whose masterly exposition of Hindu thought, though written nearly four scores of years ago, still retains its value and authoritative stamp¹ :—

TANMATRA OR PARTICLES.

"Five subtle particles, rudiments, or atoms, denominated *Tanmātra* ; perceptible to beings of a superior order, but unapprehended by the grosser senses of mankind : derived from the conscious principle, and themselves productive of the five grosser elements, earth, water, fire, air, and space.

FIVE ELEMENTS.

"Five elements, produced from the five elementary particles or rudiments. 1st. A diffused, ethereal fluid (*ākāś'a*), occupying space : it has the property of audibleness, being the vehicle of sound, derived from the sonorous rudiment or ethereal atom. 2nd. Air, which is endowed with the properties of audibleness and tangibility, being sensible to hearing and touch ; derived from the tangible rudiment or aerial atom. 3rd. Fire, which is invested with properties of audibleness, tangibility and colour ; sensible to hearing, touch and sight : derived from the colouring rudiment or igneous atom. 4th. Water, which possesses the properties of audibleness, tangibility, colour and savour ; being sensible to hearing, touch, sight and taste ; derived from the savoury rudiment or aqueous atom. 5th. Earth, which unites the properties of audibleness, tangibility, colour, savour and odour ; being sensible to hearing touch, sight, taste and smell : derived from the odorous rudiment or terrene atom.

¹ *Trans. Royal As. Soc., Vol. 1, pp. 19-43 and pp. 92-118.* The European student who wishes to pursue the subject further may consult Max Müller's *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* in which an ample and exhaustive bibliography will be found.

ANIMATED ATOM.

"The notion of an animated atom seems to be a compromise between the refined dogma of an immaterial soul and the difficulty which a gross understanding finds in grasping the comprehension of individual existence, unattached to matter.

GROSSER BODY.

"The grosser body, with which a soul clad in its subtile person is invested for the purpose of fruition, is composed of the five elements, or of four, excluding the etherial, according to some authorities ; or of one earth alone, according to others. That grosser body, propagated by generation, is perishable. The subtile person is more durable, transmigrating through successive bodies, which it assumes, as a mimic shifts his disguises to represent various characters."

We now come to the treatment of the subject by Kaṇāda in his famous Vaiśeṣhika system. Here also we are indebted to Colebrooke for the following summary. Kaṇāda arranges the objects of sense in six categories, viz., substance, quality, action, community, difference and aggregation. According to him :—

"I. Substance is the intimate cause of an aggregate effect or product : it is the site of qualities and of action ; or that in which qualities abide, and in which action takes place.

"Nine are enumerated, and no more are recognised. Darkness has been alleged by some philosophers ; but it is no substance ; nor is body a distinct one ; nor gold which the Mimāṃsakas affirm to be a peculiar substance.

"Those specified by Kaṇāda are :

EARTH.

"I. Earth, which besides qualities common to most substances (as number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity and faculty of velocity and of elasticity), has colour, savour, odour and feel or temperature. Its distinguishing quality is smell ; and it is succinctly defined as a substance odorous. In some instances, as in gems, the smell is latent : but it becomes manifest by calcination.

"It is eternal, as atoms ; or transient, as aggregates. In either, those characteristic qualities are transitory, and are maturative, as affected by light and heat : for by union with it, whether latent or manifest, form colour, taste, smell and temperature are in earth of any sort annulled, and other colour etc. introduced.

"Aggregates or products are either organised bodies, or organs of perception, or unorganic masses.

"Organised earthly bodies are of five sorts. The organ of smell is terreous. Unorganic masses are stones, lumps of clay, etc. The union of integrant parts is hard, soft or cumulative as stones, flowers, cotton, etc.

WATER.

"2. Water, which has the qualities of earth ; excepting smell, and with the addition of viscosity. Odour, when observable in water, is adscititious, arising from mixture of earthy particles.

"The distinguishing quality of water is coolness. It is accordingly defined as a substance cool to the feel.

"It is eternal, as atoms ; transient, as aggregates. The qualities of the first are constant likewise ; those of the latter inconstant.

"Organic aqueous bodies are beings abiding in the realm of Varuṇa. The organ of taste is aqueous : witness the saliva. Unorganic waters are rivers, seas, rain, snow, hail, etc.

"It is by some maintained, that hail is pure water rendered solid by the supervention of an unseen virtue : others imagine its solidity to be owing to mixture of earthly particles.

LIGHT.

"3. Light is coloured, and illumines other substances ; and to the feel is hot : which is its distinguishing quality. It is defined as a substance hot to the feel. [Heat, then, and light are identified as one substance.]

"It has the qualities of earth except smell, taste, and gravity. It is eternal, as atoms ; not so, as aggregates.

"Organic luminous bodies are beings abiding in the solar realm. The visual ray, which is the organ of sight, is lucid. Unorganic light is reckoned fourfold : earthy, celestial, alvine and mineral. Another distinction concerns sight and feel ; as light or heat

may be either latent or manifest, in respect of both sight and feel, or differently in regard to either. Thus fire is both seen and felt ; the heat of hot water is felt but not seen ; moonshine is seen, but not felt ; the visual ray is neither seen nor felt. Terrestrial light is that, of which the fuel is earthy, as fire. Celestial is that of which the fuel is watery, as lightning and meteors of various sorts. Alvine is that of which the fuel is both earthy and watery : it is intestinal, which digests food and drink. Mineral is that which is found in pits, as gold. For some maintain that gold is solid light ; or, at least that the chief ingredient is light, which is rendered solid by mixture with some particles of earth. Were it mere earth, it might be calcined by fire strongly urged. Its light is not latent, but overpowered by the colour of the earthy particles mixed with it. In the *Mīmāṃsā*, however, it is reckoned as a distinct substance, as before observed."

After giving an account of air and ether etc., Colebrooke proceeds with Kanāda's

CONCEPTION OF THE SIMPLE, BINARY, TERTIARY, AND QUATERNARY ATOMS.

"Material substances are by Kanāda considered to be primarily atoms ; and secondarily, aggregates. He maintains the eternity of atoms ; and their existence and aggregation are explained as follows :

"The mote, which is seen in a sunbeam, is the smallest perceptible quantity. Being a substance and an effect, it must be composed of what is less than itself ; and this likewise is a substance and an effect ; for the component part of a substance that has magnitude must be an effect. This again must be composed of what is smaller ; and that smaller thing is an atom. It is simple and uncomposed ; else the series would be endless : and, were it pursued indefinitely, there would be no difference of magnitude between a mustard seed and a mountain, a gnat and an elephant, each alike containing an infinity of particles. The ultimate atom then is simple.

"The first compound consists of two atoms ; for one does not enter into composition ; and there is no argument to prove, that

more than two must, for incohesion, be united. The next consists of three double atoms ; for, if only two were conjoined, magnitude would hardly ensue, since it must be produced either by size or a number of particles : it cannot be their size and, therefore, it must be their number. Nor is there any reason for assuming the union of four double atoms, since three suffice to originate magnitude. The atom then is reckoned to be the sixth part of a mote visible in a sunbeam.

"Two earthly atoms, concurring by an unseen peculiar virtue, the creative will of God, or time, or other competent cause, constitute a double atom of earth ; and, by concurrence of three binary atoms, a tertiary atom is produced ; and by concurrence of four triple atoms, a quaternary atom ; and so on, to a gross, grosser, or grossest mass of earth : thus great earth is produced ; and in like manner, great water, from aqueous atoms ; great light, from luminous ; and great air, from aerial. The qualities that belong to the effect are those which appertained to the integrant part, or primary particle, as its material cause : and conversely, the qualities which belong to the cause are found in the effect.

"The dissolution of substances proceeds inversely. In the integrant parts of an aggregate substance resulting from composition, as in the potsherds of an earthen jar, action is induced by pressure attended with velocity, or by simple pressure. Disjunction ensues ; whereby the union, which was the cause of incohesion of members, is annulled ; and the integral substance, consisting of those members, is resolved into its parts, and is destroyed : for it ceases to subsist as a whole.

QUALITY OF THE SUBSTANCE VIZ., COLOUR, SAVOUR, ETC.

"II. Quality is closely united with substance ; not, however, as an intimate cause of it, nor consisting in motion ; but common : not a genus, yet appertaining to one. It is independent of conjunction and disjunction ; not the cause of them, not itself endued with qualities.

"Twenty-four are enumerated. Seventeen only are, indeed, specified in Kaṇāda's aphorisms ; but the rest are understood.

"1. Colour. It is a peculiar quality to be apprehended only by

sight ; and abides in three substances ; earth, water, and light. It is a characteristic quality of the last ; and, in that, is white and resplendent. In water it is white, but without lustre. In the primary atoms of both it is perpetual ; in their products, not so. In earth it is variable ; and seven colours are distinguished : *viz.* white, yellow, green, red, black, tawny (or orange) and variegated. The varieties of these seven colours are many, unenumerated. The six simple colours occur in the atoms of the earth ; and the seven, including variegated, in its double atoms, and more complex forms. The colour of integrant parts is the cause of colour in the integral substance.

“2. Savour. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the organ of taste ; and abides in two substances, earth and water. It is a characteristic quality of the last ; and in it is sweet. It is perpetual in atoms of water ; not so in aqueous products. In earth it is variable, and six sorts are distinguished : sweet, bitter, pungent, astringent, acid, and saline.

“3. Odour. It is a peculiar quality, to be apprehended only by the organ of smell ; and abides in earth alone, being its distinguishing quality. In water, odour is adscititious, being induced by union with earthy particles ; as a clear crystal appears red by association with a hollyhock, or other flower of that hue. In air also it is adscititious : thus a breeze, which has blown over blossoms, musk, camphor, or other scented substances, wafts fragrant particles of the blossoms, etc. The flowers are not torn, nor the musk diminished ; because the parts are replaced by a reproductive unseen virtue. However, camphor and other volatile substances do waste.

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GRAVITATION.

“12. Gravity is the peculiar cause of primary descent or falling.

“It affects earth and water. Gold is affected by this quality, by reason of earth contained in it.

“In the absence of a countervailing cause, as adhesion, velocity, or some act of volition, descent results from this quality. Thus a cocoanut is withheld from falling by adhesion of the foot-

stalk ; but, this impediment ceasing on maturity of the fruit, it falls.

"According to Udayana Āchārya, gravity is imperceptible, but to be inferred from the act of falling. Vallabha maintains that it is perceived in the position of a thing descending to a lower situation.

LEVITY.

"Levity is not a distinct quality, but the negation of gravity.

FLUIDITY.

"13. Fluidity is the cause of original trickling.

"It affects earth, light and water. It is natural and essential in water ; adscititious in earth and light ; being induced by exhibition of fire in molten substances, as lac, gold, etc.

"Fluidity is perceptible by external senses, sight and touch.

"In hail and ice, fluidity essentially subsists, but is obstructed by an impediment arising from an unseen virtue which renders the water solid.

VISCIDITY.

14. "Viscosity is the quality of clamminess and cause of agglutination. It abides in water only. In oil, liquid butter, etc., it results from the watery parts of those liquids.

SOUND.

"15. Sound is a peculiar quality of the etherial element, and is to be apprehended by the hearing. It abides in that element exclusively and is its characteristic quality. Two sorts are distinguished : articulate and musical.

THEORY OF THE PROPAGATION OF SOUND.

"To account for sound originating in one place being heard in another, it is observed, that sound is propagated by undulation, wave after wave, radiating in every direction, from a centre, like the blossoms of a Nauclea. It is not the first, nor the intermediate wave, that is the sound heard : but the last that comes in contact with the organ of hearing : and therefore it is not quite correct

to say, that a drum has been heard. Sound originates in conjunction, in disjunction, or in sound itself. The conjunction of cymbals, or that of a drum and stick, may serve to exemplify the first. It is the instrumental cause. The rustling of leaves is an instance of disjunction being the cause of sound. In some cases, sound becomes the cause of sound. In all, the conformity of wind or its calmness is a concomitant cause : for an adverse wind obstructs it. The material cause is in every case the ethereal fluid : and the conjunction of that with the sonorous subject is a concomitant cause."

It now only remains for us to furnish a précis of the atomic theory of Kaṣāda in the words of Max Müller :

ANUS OR ATOMS

"What is thought to be peculiar to Kaṣāda, nay the distinguishing feature of his philosophy, is the theory of Anus or Atoms. They take the place of the Tanmātras in the Sāṃkhya philosophy. Though the idea of an atom is not unknown in the Nyāya-philosophy (Nyāya Sūtras, IV. 2, 4-25), it is nowhere so fully worked out as in the Vaiśeṣika. Kaṣāda argued that there must be somewhere a smallest thing that excludes further analysis. Without this admission, we should have a *regressus ad infinitum*, a most objectionable process in the eyes of all Indian philosophers. A mountain, he says, would not be larger than a mustard seed. These smallest and invisible particles are held by Kaṣāda to be eternal in themselves, but non-eternal as aggregates. As aggregates again they may be organised organs, and inorganic. Thus the human body is earth organised, the power of smelling is the earthly organ, stones are inorganic.

"It is, no doubt, very tempting to ascribe a Greek origin to Kaṣāda's theory of atoms. But suppose that the atomic theory had really been borrowed from a Greek source, would it not be strange that Kaṣāda's atoms are supposed never to assume visible dimensions till there is a combination of three double atoms (Tryazuka), neither the simple nor the double atoms being supposed to be visible by themselves. I do not remember anything like this in Epicurean authors, and it seems to me to give

quite an independent character to *Kaṣāda's* view of the nature of an atom.

"We are told that water, in its atomic state, is eternal, as an aggregate transient. Beings in the realm of *Vaṣuza* (god of the sea) are organised, taste is the watery organ, rivers are water inorganic.

"Light in its atomic state is eternal, as an aggregate transient. There are organic luminous bodies in the sun, sight or the visual ray is the luminous organ, burning fires are inorganic.

"Air, again, is both atomic and an aggregate. Beings of the air, spirits, etc., are organised air; touch in the skin is the aerial organ, wind is inorganic air. Here it would seem as if we had something not very unlike the doctrine of Empedocles. * * *

But though we may discover the same thought in the philosophies of *Kaṣāda* and Empedocles, the form which it takes in India is characteristically different from its Greek form."¹

DATES OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SŪTRAS—

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY

As regards the dates of the philosophical sūtras, nothing definite is known; here, as in the subsequent portions of our history, we have to depend largely upon constructive chronology. We quote below two short extracts from Professor Max Müller's "Indian Philosophy" which summarise all the information available at present on the subject:

"If we consider the state of philosophical thought in India such as it is represented to us in the *Brāhmaṣas* and *Upanishads*, and afterwards in the canonical books of the Buddhists, we cannot wonder that all attempts at fixing the dates of the six recognised systems of philosophy, nay even their mutual relationship, should hitherto have failed. It is true that Buddhism and Jainism were likewise but two philosophical systems out of many, and that it has been possible to fix their dates. But if in their case we know something about their dates and their historical development, this is chiefly due to the social and political importance which they acquired during the fifth, the fourth, and the third centuries B. C.,

¹(V) *Indian Philosophy*, pp. 584-85.

and not simply to their philosophical tenets. We know also that there were many teachers, contemporaries of Buddha, but they have left no traces in the literary history of India.

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"We cannot be far wrong therefore if we assign the gradual formation of the six systems of philosophy to the period from Buddha (5th century) to Asoka (third century), though we have to admit, particularly in the cases of Vedānta, Sāṃkhya, and Yoga a long previous development reaching back through Upanishads and Brāhminas to the very hymns of the Rig Veda.

"It is equally difficult to fix the relative position of the great systems of philosophy, because, as I explained before, they quote each other mutually. With regard to the relation of Buddhism to the six orthodox systems it seems to me that all we can honestly say is that schools of philosophy handing down doctrines very similar to those of our six classical or orthodox systems are presupposed by the Buddhist Sūttas." (pp. 116—120)

As regards the question of priority, we shall also take the liberty to quote below from Prof. Macdonell's "History of Sanskrit Literature":

"Turning to Philosophical Literature, we find that the early Greek and Indian Philosophers have many points in common. Some of the leading doctrines of the Eleatics, that God and the universe are one, that everything existing in multiplicity has no reality, that thinking and being are identical, are all to be found in the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Vedānta system, which is its outcome. Again, the doctrine of Empedocles, that nothing can arise which has not existed before, and that nothing existing can be annihilated, has its exact parallel in the characteristic doctrine of the Sāṃkhya system about the eternity and indestructibility of matter. According to Greek tradition, Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus, and others undertook journeys to Oriental countries in order to study philosophy. Hence there is at least the historical possibility of the Greeks having been influenced by Indian thought through Persia.

"Whatever may be the truth in the cases just mentioned, the dependence of Pythagoras on Indian philosophy and science certainly seems to have a high degree of probability. Almost all the

doctrines ascribed to him, religious, philosophical, mathematical were known in India in the sixth century B. C. The coincidences are so numerous that their cumulative force becomes considerable. The transmigration theory, the assumption of five elements, the Pythagorean theorem in geometry, the prohibition as to eating beans, the religio-philosophical character of the Pythagorean fraternity and the mystical speculations of the Pythagorean school, all have their close parallels in ancient India. The doctrine of metempsychosis in the case of Pythagoras appears without any connection or explanatory background, and was regarded by the Greeks as of foreign origin. He could not have derived it from Egypt, as it was not known to the ancient Egyptians. In spite, however, of the later tradition, it seems impossible that Pythagoras should have made his way to India at so early a date, but he could quite well have met Indians in Persia."¹

(1) *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 421-22. Colebrooke himself sums up his views in these words :—"I should be disposed to conclude that the Indians were in this instance teachers than learners." *Trans. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. I., p. 579. Prof. H. H. Wilson observes :—"that the Hindus derived any of their philosophical ideas from the Greek seems very improbable, and if there is any borrowing in the case, the latter were most probably indebted to the former." Preface to the *Sāṃkhya Kārikā* (1837) p. ix.

CHAPTER II

Chemistry in the Charaka and the Susruta

THE CHARAKA

[The subject-matter in the first few extracts in this chapter is practically based upon the Vaiseshika system ; see ante pp. 3 *et seq.*]

THE TASTES—THE METALS AND THEIR CALCES

"The object of the tongue is taste. Water and earth are the objective existences in which taste inheres. In its manifestation and as regards particular kinds of it, space, air and light are also its adjuncts. Sweet, sour, salt, pungent, bitter and astringent, these are regarded as the sixfold catalogue of tastes. * * * Objects are again known to be of three kinds, *viz.*, animal products, vegetable products, and products appertaining to the earth. Honey, vaccine, secretions, bile, fat, marrow, blood, flesh, excreta, urine, skin, semen, bones, tendons, horns, nails, hoofs, hair, bristles, and the bright pigment called *Gorochanā*,¹ are used (as drugs) among animal products. Gold, the ordure of the metals, [*i.e.* their calces] the five metals (*viz.* silver, copper, lead, tin and iron), sand, lime, red arsenic, gems, salt, red chalk and antimony, are indicated as drugs appertaining to the earth."²

A DISCOURSE ON THE TASTES—THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE FIVE PRIMAL ELEMENTS—THE NATURE OF THE ALKALI

"Once on a time, the son of Atri, and Bhadrakāpyas Sākuntēya and the full-eyed Maudgalya, and the golden-eyed Kausika, the sinless Bharadvāja otherwise called Kumārasiras, the blessed king Vāryovida, that foremost of all intelligent men, Nimi, the ruler of the Videhas, Vagisa of high intelligence, and Kāmukhāyana-vālhika, that foremost of all physicians of the Vālhika country,—these *Rishis*, all of whom were old in years and learning and all

(1) Concretions found in the gall bladder of the ox.

(2) A. C. Kaviratna's *Translation of Charaka Samhita*, pp. 6-7.

of whom had subjugated their souls, came together to the delightful Chaitraratha woods, desirous of passing a few days in enjoyment and pleasure. As those *R̥ṣhis* conversant with every topic were seated there, the following discourse of grave import took place among them on the subject of the proper ascertainment of the (different) tastes and food.

"There is one kind of taste, said Bhadrakāpya ; which persons skilled in the subject regard as are of the five subjects of the senses, *viz.*, that which relates to the tongue. That, again, is not different from water.

"The Brāhmaza Sākuntēya said there are two tastes, their virtues being that one of them cuts or removes from the body all bad humours or ingredients, and the other only checks or curbs them.

"There are three tastes, said the full-eyed Maudgalya. Their virtues are cutting, curbing, and both.

"There are four tastes, said the golden-eyed Kausika. They are agreeable and beneficial, and agreeable and non-beneficial, disagreeable and beneficial.

"There are five tastes, said Kumārasira-Bharadvāja. They appertain to Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether (or Space).

"There are six tastes, said the royal sage Vāryovida. They are heavy, light, cold, hot, oily and dry.

"There are seven tastes, said Nimi, the ruler of the Videhas. They are sweet, sour, saltish, pungent, bitter, astringent, and alkaline.

"There are eight tastes, said Vādīsa-Dhāmārgava. They are sweet, sour, saltish, pungent, bitter, astringent, alkaline, and that which remains in an unmanifest form.

"The tastes are infinite in number, said Kām̐khāyana, foremost among the physicians of the Vāl̐hika country, in consequence of the infinite variety of their virtues, operations or effects and methods of corrections (or mixture for adding to their virtues, etc.).

"The illustrious son of Atri, *viz.* Punarvasu, said that the number of tastes is truly six. They are sweet, sour, saltish, pungent, bitter, and astringent. The source from which these six flow, *i.e.*, their origin, is water. Their operations or effects are of two kinds, *viz.*, cutting and curbing. In consequence, again, of mixture

or combination, they become both cutting and curbing at the same time. Agreeable and disagreeable are their divisions that depend upon the likes and dislikes of men. Beneficial and non-beneficial are their powers. The refuge of the tastes are the modifications of the five primal elements (of Earth, Water, Fire, Air, and Ether or Space). The tastes, again, depend upon the (original) nature of their refuge, the modifications of that refuge, combinations of the substances that form their refuge, as also place, and time.¹

"The virtues or properties (attaching to the tastes) occur in those which constitute the refuge (of the tastes), called objects. Those virtues are heavy, light, cold, warm, oily, dry, and others.

"*Kshūra* (alkali) is so called from its being produced by *ksharana* (dropping down or straining). This is not a taste. It is, on the other hand, an object. It is, in fact, produced from many kinds of taste. Hence, it has many tastes. Among them, pungent and saline predominate. It is composed of many objects of the senses. It is manufactured with the aid of different processes.

* * * * *

"At the outset, however, we shall say something referring to the diversity of objects (which are the refuge of the tastes). All objects are the results of the combinations of five primal elements (*tvṣ.*, Earth, Water, Fire, Air and Ether or Space). As regards Medical Science, objects are of two kinds *tvṣ.*, those endowed with animation and those that are inanimate. The attributes which inhere in objects are sound, &c., heaviness &c., ending with solubility."²

We now quote only a few typical instances of mineral and metallic preparations.

THE FIVE KINDS OF SALTS

"The five kinds of salts *tvṣ.* *sauvarchala*, *saindhava*, *vit*, *audbhida*, with *sāmudra*." [See Index under the respective headings]

(1) The modifications of the five primal elements constitute the refuge of the tastes. Every substance is formed by modifications of those elements. What is said, therefore, is that material substances are the refuge of the tastes, *i.e.*, the tastes inhere in them.

(2) *Kaṇḍikā's Trans.*, pp. 295-99.

MINERALS FOR EXTERNAL APPLICATION

"Sulphate of copper, sulphate of iron, realgar, orpiment and sulphur in combination with vegetable drugs are prescribed for external application in ringworm, eczema, leprosy, &c."¹

THE EIGHT VARIETIES OF URINE

"The eight varieties of urine are those of the sheep, the goat, the cow, the buffalo, the elephant, the camel, the horse, and the ass."²

PREPARATION OF KSHARA (ALKALI)

"A young *butea frondosa* is to be cut to pieces and dried and finally reduced to ashes. The ash is to be lixiviated with four or six times its weight of water and strained (through linen) 21 times."³

PILL IRON COMPOUND

"Into the composition of pill iron compound pyrites and the rust of iron enter."⁴

A COLLYRIUM

"The ingredients of a collyrium are conch-shell, coral, lapis lazuli, iron, copper, the bone of the frog, sulphide of antimony and the seed *hyperanthera morunga*."⁵

[The first five articles are interpreted as meaning the calces thereof.]

POWDER OF PEARL COMPOUND

"Among the constituents we have, pearl, sulphur, powder of iron, copper and silver."⁶

[The text does not precisely say whether the metals are to be used *as such* or *as killed* by being roasted with sulphur. The Hindu physicians however always take them in the latter sense.]

IRON, GOLD AND SILVER TONICS

"A thin iron plate is to be made red hot and plunged into the

1. *Sutra*, Ch. III, 4-5

(2) *Ibid.*, Ch. I, 43.

(3) *Chikitsā*, Ch. XXIII, 26.

(4) *Ibid.*, Ch. XVI, 28.

(5) *Ibid.*, Ch. XXVI, 123.

(6) *Chikitsā*, Ch. XVII, 40.

The references are according to the edition of Kavirajes D. N. Sen and U. N. Sen

decoction of the myrobalans, cow's urine, the solution of "the salts", the solution of the alkali extracted from the ash of *butca frondosa* ; *i.e.* made red hot and plunged into one of the above liquids at a time. When the iron becomes black like collyrium it is to be powdered. * * * *

"The same process to be adopted in the case of gold and silver."¹

RASAYANA DEFINED

"Medicines are of two kinds : the one promotes the strength and vitality of the healthy, the other cures diseases.

"Whatever promotes longevity, retentive memory, health, virility, &c, is called Rasāyana."²

THE SUSRUTA

PREPARATION AND USE OF ALKALIES AND

ALKALINE CAUSTICS³

"Of all cutting instruments and accessory cutting instruments, caustics are superior inasmuch as they perform the work of incisions, punctures, and scarifications, relieve derangements of the three humours, *viz.*, air, bile, and phlegm, and uniformly affect the diseased part to which they are applied. *Kshāra* (caustics) are so called because they remove diseased parts and destroy the skin and flesh. From being composed of numerous medicines they can affect the three humours. Caustics being white in colour are cooling or of lunar origin.⁴ This origin is not inconsistent with their burning, escharotic and lacerating properties. Being composed of numerous heating medicines, caustics are acrid, hot and pungent. They promote suppuration, destroy parts, improve unhealthy sores and promote granulation, dry up discharge, stop bleeding and abrade the skin. Their

(1) *Chikitsā*, Ch. I. 5, pp. 497-98.

(2) *Ibid*, Ch. I. 2-6.

(3) We have adopted Uday Chund Dutt's Translation of Chs. XI and XIV with certain corrections here and there.

(4) The reader will not fail to notice that silver nitrate is, in the language of Western Alchemy, named *lunar caustic*.

internal use removes worms, acidity, phlegm, skin diseases, some poisons and corpulence. Their excessive use causes impotence.

"Alkalies are of two sorts, namely, for external application and internal administration. They are used externally in the skin diseases called *kustha*, in keloid, ringworm, leucoderma, lepra, fistula-in-ano, tumours, unhealthy ulcers, sinuses, condyloma, moles, chloasma, brown spots on the face, warts, external inflammations, worms, poisons and piles, and in the seven following diseases of the mouth namely, *upajihvā* (ranula), *adhijihvā* (tumour on the tongue), *upakusa* (inflammation of the gum), *dantavaidarbha* (inflammation of the gum from injury), and the three sorts of *rohini* or inflammation of the throat. In these diseases of the mouth, accessory instruments, in the shape of caustics only, should be used. Alkaline solutions are administered internally in chronic or slow poisoning, abdominal tumours, ascites, loss of appetite, indigestion, disinclination for food, tympanitis, urinary deposits, calculi, internal or deep-seated inflammation, intestinal worms, poisoning and piles. Alkalies do not agree with children, old and weak people, and persons having a tendency to hæmorrhage from internal organs, or a bilious temperament. They are injurious in fever, giddiness, intoxication, fainting, amaurosis and such other diseases.

"Alkalies for escharotic use are prepared like other alkalies by straining alkaline solutions as elsewhere explained in detail. They are made of three strengths, namely, weak, moderate and strong. He who wishes to prepare alkalies should in an auspicious day in autumn, fasting and in pure body, select a middle-aged, large-sized, uninjured *ghantīpātali* tree with black flowers (*Schrebera swietenoides*) growing on an approved spot on a mountain, and address it with certain *mantras* or incantations as a preliminary ceremony called *adhivāsa*. Next day the tree should be cut or killed after reciting the following *mantra* or prayer: "Oh you with great fiery power may not thy strength be lost! Oh you auspicious tree, stay here and accomplish my work. After accomplishing my work you will go to heaven." Then the ceremony of *homa*, or burning the sacrificial fire, should be performed with one hundred red flowers. The tree should then be cut to pieces and piled in a place free from wind. Some

limestone should be placed on the pile which should be set on fire by stalks of *Sesamum Indicum*. When the fire is extinguished, the ashes of the *ghantāpātali* tree and the burnt lime should be kept separate. In the same way the following trees may be burnt with their root, branches, leaves and fruits for the preparation of alkalies,¹ namely :

Kutaja	Hollarrhena antidysenterica.
Palāsa	Butea frondosa.
Asvakarna	Shorea robusta.
Pāribhadraka	Erythrina indica.
Vibhitaka	Terminalia bellarica.
Āragvadha	Cassia fistula.
Tilvaka	Symplocos racemosa
Arka	Calotropis gigantea.
Snuhi	Euphorbia neriiifolia.
Apāmārga	Achyranthes aspera.
Pātālā	Stereospermum suaveolens.
Naktamāla	Pongamia glabra.
Vrīsha	Justicia adhatoda.
Kadalī	Musa sapientum.
Chitraka	Plumbago zeylanica.
Pūtika	Guilandina bonducella.
Indravriksha	Terminalia arjuna.
Āsphota	Salvadora persica
Asvamāraka	Nerium odorum.
Saptachchhada	Alstonia scholaris.
Agni mantha	Premna serratifolia.
Gunjā	Abrus precatorins.
Four sorts of Kośā	4 Varieties of Luffa amara."

LIXIVIATION OF THE ASHES

"Thirty two seers of ashes should be stirred or mixed with six times their quantity of water or cow's urine and the mixture strained through cloth. This should be repeated twenty-one times. The strained fluid should then be boiled slowly in a

(1) Cf. *Rasārṇava*, p. 37, where the standard "plant ashes" are enumerated.

large pan and agitated with a ladle. When the fluid becomes clear, pungent and soapy to the feel, it should be removed from the fire and strained through cloth. The filtrate¹ being thrown away, the strained fluid should be again boiled. From this alkaline solution take three quarters of a seer."

RENDERING THE ALKALI CAUSTIC

"Then take eight palas each of Banduc nut, burnt limestone, conch shells, and bivalve shells, and heat them in an iron pan till they are of the colour of fire. Then moisten them in the same vessel with the above-mentioned three-quarters of a seer of alkaline water and reduce them to powder. This powder should be thrown on sixty four seers of the alkaline water and boiled with constant and careful agitation by the ladle. Care should be taken that the solution is neither too thick nor thin."

HOW TO STORE UP THE ALKALI

"When reduced to proper consistence, the solution should be removed from the fire and poured into an iron jar. The opening or mouth of the jar should be covered, and should be kept in a secluded place. This preparation is called *Madhyama kshāra* or alkaline caustic of middling strength. When the alkaline water is simply boiled to the proper consistence without the addition of burnt shells &c., the preparation is called *Mridu*² *kshāra* or weak alkaline solution. The strong alkaline caustic is prepared by boiling the weak solution with two tolaks each in fine powder of such of the under-mentioned ingredients as are available, namely :

Danti,	Baliospermum montanum.
Dravanti	Salvinia cucullata.
Chitraka	Plumbago zeylanica.
Lāngaliki	Gloriosa superba.
Pūtika	Guilandina bonducell.
Kanaka	Salvinia cucullata.

¹ This is evidently a mistake. According to the original text, it should be "the dregs" i. e. the precipitate.

² "Mridu" may be rendered more accurately as "mild."

Kshīrī

Cleome felina.

Vachā

Acorus calamus.

"Aconite root, carbonate of soda, asafœtida, black salt and corals.

"This solution is used for bringing to a head or opening abscesses. These three varieties of alkalies should be used according to the state of the disease. In weak persons, the alkaline water without the addition of other caustic ingredients, should be applied to strengthen the parts."

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GOOD AND THE BAD ALKALI

On this subject there are the following verses :

"Good alkaline caustics should be neither too strong nor too weak. They should be white in colour, smooth and soapy to the touch, should not spread beyond where they are applied, and act rapidly and successfully. These are the eight good properties of caustics. Their bad qualities consist in their being too weak or cool, too strong or hot, too slippery and spreading, too thick or too under-boiled, or they may be deficient in ingredients.

"In applying caustic to a patient suffering from a disease curable by this remedy, he should be made to sit in a spacious place, protected from wind and sun. The physician should then procure the instruments or necessary articles according to the rules laid down in the fifth chapter. He should then examine the diseased part, rub, scarify or scratch it, and then apply the caustic by means of a probe, and wait for the space of time required to utter one hundred words. The diseased part turns black on the application of the caustic which is a sign of its having been burnt. The application of some acid mixed with clarified butter or honey relieves the pain. If from the thickness of the burnt part, it does not fall off, the following application should be thoroughly applied to it, namely, equal parts of tamarind pulp, of the refuse of *Kāñjika* (fermented rice water), sesamum seeds and liquorice root rubbed together into a paste. Sesamum seeds and liquorice root rubbed together with clarified butter promotes granulations in ulcers."

WHY THE ACID NEUTRALISES THE ALKALI

"If you question, my son ! how is it that the application of the pungent acid of *Kāñjika* relieves the burning of the fire-like hot alkaline caustic, then hear the following explanation from me. Alkalies possess all the tastes except that of the acid. The acrid taste prevails in it and the saline one to a less degree (cf. *ante* p. 15). The sharp saline taste when mixed with acid becomes very mild, and gives up its sharp quality. From this modification of the saline taste, the pain of caustics is relieved, just as fire is extinguished by water."

MILD AND CAUSTIC ALKALIES

It will be noticed that there is a distinct mention of "mild" and "caustic" alkalies in the body of the text. The process of lixiviating the ashes and rendering the lye caustic by the addition of lime leaves very little to improve upon, and appears almost scientific compared to the crude method to which M. Berthelot pays a high tribute :

"Fabrication de la Lessive :—Quatre muids de cendres sont répartis entre deux cuiviers, percés de trous au fond. Autour du trou le plus petit, du côté intérieur, mets une petite quantité de foin, pour que la cendre n'obstrue pas le trou. Remplis d'eau le premier des cuiviers ; recueille le liquide filtré qui en découle pendant toute la nuit et mets-le dans le second cuvier ; garde ce qui filtre de ce second cuvier. Mets d'autre cendre (dans un troisième cuvier). Epiuse-la et il se forme une liqueur pareille au nard couleur d'or. Verse-la dans un quatrième cuvier. La liqueur devient piquante et forte : telle est la lessive particulière." *Coll. d. Alch. Grecs, III. trad.* p. 357.

We reproduce the remarks of M. Berthelot on the above : "On a regardé comme modernes les procédés de lixivitation méthodique, usités pour exprimer les cendres et les matériaux salpêtrés : le passage suivant, tiré du manuscrit de Saint-Marc, montre que ces procédés remontent au XI^e siècle at sans doute au delà." —*Chimie des Anciens*, p. 284.

DESCRIPTION OF BLOOD

(Chapter XIV of Sūtrasthānam)

"The four varieties of food derived from the five elements and having the six tastes, the two properties of heat and cold or according to some, eight properties and many qualities when taken in moderation and thoroughly digested, produces a fine substance imbued with energy and fire. This is called *rasa* (chyle). The heart is the seat of the *rasa* or chyle. From the heart it proceeds through 24 arteries, namely, ten ascending, ten descending, and four transverse to all parts of the body. By some unseen cause or destiny, this chyle continually satiates, increases, nourishes and supports the body and keeps it alive. The motion of this chyle throughout the body is inferred from the processes of decline, increase, and diseased condition of the different portions of the body. It may be asked whether this chyle which pervades all the external parts of the body, the three humours, the tissues, including the blood and the receptacles of the secretions, is endowed with the property of heat or cold. As this chyle is a circulating fluid, and as it softens, vitalises, supports and nourishes the body, it should be known to possess the cooling property. This watery fluid no doubt assumes a red colour in the liver and spleen, that is, it is converted into blood in these organs. On this subject there is the following verse :

"The *rasa* (chyle) of living beings is coloured red by healthy bile. This coloured fluid is called blood. The blood excreted by women and called the menstrual fluid is derived also from this *rasa*. This menstruation, coming at the age of twelve, ceases at the age of fifty.

"The menstrual fluid is endowed with the property of heat, owing to the womb being possessed of both the properties of heat and cold. Other writers say that the blood of living beings is composed of the five elements. The five qualities of the five elements as seen in blood are as follows, namely, fleshy smell, liquidity, red colour, tendency to trickle or ooze, and lightness.¹ Blood is produced from chyle, flesh from blood, fat from flesh,

(1) Cf. *ante* pp. 3-4 under Vaiseshika Philosophy.

bones from fat, marrow from bones, and lastly the semen is produced from marrow. The chyle produced from food and drink nourishes these constituent parts of the body. Living beings are produced from the *rasa*; hence sensible people should carefully preserve this *rasa* by conforming to the proper rules of diet and regimen."¹

ON THE COLLECTION OF DRUGS

(Chapter XXXVIII: *Sūtrasthānam*)

37 classes of vegetable drugs are mentioned, which chiefly constitute the *Materia Medica*. There is only one *sloka* in which the six metals *viz.* tin, lead copper, silver, *krishnaloha* (iron) and gold, and their calces are recommended.

THE SALTS

Rock-salt, sea-salt, bit, *sauvarchala*, *romaka* and *audbhid* &c. (see *ante* p. 15).

THE ALKALIES

Yavakshāra (factitious carbonate of potash), *sārjikākshāra*² (*trona* or *natron*); the alkaline solution prepared according to directions given in Ch. XI; and borax.

Internal administration of alkali is recommended for dissolving the stones or gravels (*urinary calculi*).

INTERNAL USE OF LEAD AND TIN

Lead and tin are described as *vermifuge*—a property also accepted by the later *Iatro-chemists*.

Powdered tin rubbed for seven days together with the creamy portion of curd is recommended for internal administration.

MINERALS FOR EXTERNAL APPLICATION

For the treatment of ulcer an external application of sulphate of copper, sulphate of iron, *orpiment* and *realgar* &c. is prescribed.

¹ The reader may compare the above theories on the Chemistry and Physiology of Digestion and Nutrition with those of Geber. *Vide Traité d'Alchimie Arabe*, trad. pp. 201–3.

² From the time of the *Charaka* and the *Susruta*. Hindu Pharmacy has always recognised these two alkalies as distinct.

Another recipe includes alum-earth, red ochre, sulphate of copper, yellowish (basic) sulphate of iron, rock-salt, orpiment and realgar.¹

ROASTING OF IRON AND OTHER METALS, SO AS TO RENDER THEM FIT FOR INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION

Thin leaves of cast iron are to be smeared with the levigated powder of "the salts" and heated in the fire of the cow-dung cakes and then plunged into a decoction of the myrobalaus and asafetida. This process is to be repeated 16 times. The leaves are then to be ignited in the fire of the wood of *mimosa catchu* and afterwards finely powdered and passed through linen of fine texture.

The above process is equally applicable to the roasting of the other metals.²

THE ORIGIN OF BITUMEN

The origin of bitumen is much the same as in the Charaka and the Bower Ms.; the only difference being that, according to Susruta, bitumen is related to six instead of four metals (see below p. 28).

IRON PYRITES

Iron Pyrites are collected on the bank of the river Tāpi, of the lustre of gold and silver respectively (see below under *Rasaratna samuchhaya*, Bk. II, 77-81) and prescribed in the treatments of diabetes, leprosy, &c.

GOLD DUST

Gold dust, mixed with lotus seed, honey, &c. is used as a tonic.

THE POISONS

The Poisons are classified as animal, vegetable, and mineral respectively. Under the last we have *Phenasma bhasma*³ and orpiment.

(1) *Chikitsasthanam* Ch. XIX, 37, ed. J. Vidyasagara.

(2) See Note on "the Metals and their Salts" at the end of this Chapter.

(3) It is sometimes taken to mean white arsenic; "but it is very doubtful if Susruta meant any native white arsenic by it. The derivation of the term implies that it was obtained by reacting some sort of stone or ore." Dutt.

USE OF MERCURY

The only references to mercury, which are however very vague, are तारः सुतारः समुद्रगोपः सर्व्वेयं तुल्यः कुरुविन्द गागः ; and : रक्तं श्वेतं चन्दन पारदञ्च काकोल्यादिः क्षीरपिष्टश्च वर्गः ।

NOTE ON THE METALS AND THEIR SALTS (अवःकृति)¹

Six metals are recognised, namely : tin, iron, lead, copper, silver and gold.² The thin leaves of the metals by being plastered over with a paste of "the salts" (see p. 25) including common salt, salt-petre and sulphate of magnesia and afterwards subjected to roasting were no doubt converted into their respective oxides, chlorides or oxy-chlorides as the case may be. We have thus in the Susruta a crude and imperfect, but all the same *potentially modern*, process for the preparation of the metallic salts. The much reputed "potable gold" in the shape of the chloride of the metal was probably in this way obtained. It will be interesting to note the successive stages in the evolution of the chemical processes as we proceed. (See especially under "Chemistry in Rasārnava", p. 30, where the mixture of the salts is technically named "bida" and consists of green vitriol, alum, common salt, salt-petre, &c.)

The reader will find an analogy in the ancient Egyptian and Greek methods as preserved in the Leyden Parchment, one or two extracts from which cannot fail to be of interest :

"Ayant pris quatre paillettes d'or, faites-en une lame, chauffez-la et trempez-la dans de la couperose broyée avec de l'eau et avec une autre (couperose) sèche, battez (une partie)...une autre avec la matière mélangée : déversez la rouille et jetez dans..."

"Il y a là deux recettes distinctes. Dans toutes deux figure le sulfate de cuivre plus ou moins ferrugineux, sous les noms de chalcanthon ou couperose et de sory. La seconde recette semble un fragment mutilé d'une formule plus étendue. La première présente une grande ressemblance avec une formule donnée dans

(1) अत ऊर्द्धमयस्कृतीर्वेनामः । तौ न्यलोहपत्राणि तनूनि लवनवर्गप्रद्विनानि गोमयान्नि-
प्रतनानि * * * मद्यचूर्णानि कारयन् । *Chikit.*, Ch. X, 9.

(2) वषट्ठिनान् लोहानां पञ्चाम् । *Chikit.*, Ch. XIII, 3.

वपुसोमनामरजतकृष्णलोहसुवर्णानि । *Sutra.*, Ch. XXXVIII, 56.

Pline pour préparer un remède avec l'or, en communiquant aux
 objects torréfiés avec lui une propriété spécifique active, désignée
 par Pline sous nom de *virus* * * *

...ce qui complète le rapprochement entre la formule de Pline et
 celle du papyrus. Voici les paroles de Pline :

"On torréfie l'or dans un vase de terre, avec deux fois son
 poids de sel et trois fois son poids de misy ; puis on répète
 l'opération avec 2 parties de sel et 1 partie de la pierre appelée
 schiste. De cette façon, il donne des propriétés actives aux sub-
 stances chauffées avec lui, tout en demeurant pur et intact. Le
 résidu est une cendre que l'on conserve dans un vase de terre."

"Pline ajoute que l'on emploie ce résidu comme remède. L'effi-
 cacité de l'or, le plus parfait des corps, contre les maladies et
 contre les maléfices est un vieux préjugé. De là, au moyen âge,
 l'idée de l'or potable. La préparation indiquée par Pline devait
 contenir les métaux étrangers à l'or, sous forme de chlorures ou
 d'oxychlorures. Renfermait-elle aussi un sel d'or? A la rigueur,
 il se pourrait que le chlorure de sodium, en présence des sels basi-
 ques de peroxyde de fer, ou même du bioxyde de cuivre, dégag-
 eât du chlore, susceptible d'attaquer l'or métallique ou allié, en
 formant du chlorure d'or, ou plutôt un chlorure double de ce métal.
 Mais la chose n'est pas démontrée. En tous cas, l'or se trouve
 affiné dans l'opération précédente."¹

(1) *Coll. des Anciens Alch. Grecs*, Vol. I., pp 14-15.

CHAPTER III

Chemistry in the Bower Ms.

THE ALKALIES

The alkalies in the Bower Ms. are the two carbonates of potash and soda. (Yavakshāra and Sarjikākshāra)

FUMES OF HORN

The fumes of horn are recommended as giving relief in hiccough. [Practically the same as "spirits of hartshorn."]

KSILARATAILA

"Oil, boiled with the ashes of long pepper, is a remedy for ear diseases" (Pt. ii. fasc. ii. p. 131). [Cf. The formula given in Chakrapāṇi (see p. 34)]

FORMULA FOR HAIR-DYE

Sulphates of copper and iron, boiled with the oil of belleric myrobalans * * * is used as a remedy for turning grey hair into black (ibid : p. 162).

RASAYANA DEFINED

It is called Rasāyana because it has a beneficial effect on *Rasa* or chyle and other elements of the body. Cf. p. 17.

THE DOCTRINE OF BITUMEN¹

Bitumen is produced from the following four metals : Gold, copper, silver and iron. Gold and other metals in the mountains, when heated by the sun, emit their impurities, oil-like, heavy, and clay-like : these are the bitumen.

¹ The whole of this chapter, in a practically identical recension, is found in the *Charaka*. See Bower Ms., Pt. II., fasc. iii., ch. xiii., p. 167.

A LINCTUS

With certain vegetable drugs and "riparian sulphide of antimony,"¹ a linctus is made up with honey into a paste. (Pt. ii. fasc. II. p. 123)

FORMULE FOR EYE-OINTMENT

Red ochre, rasôt, galena, realgar, calx of brass (रौतिकुम्भ) in equal parts...

With pepper and calx (of brass) one should boil gold on a slow fire together with clarified butter.²

.

(1) *Srotaja añjana*; it is one of the five kinds of *añjana* or substances used for collyriums. The word literally means produced from a river, especially from the Yamuna. See Garbe's *Indische Mineralien*, p. 54.

(2) The Bower Ms., Pt. I., verses 110 and 111.

CHAPTER IV

Chemistry in the Vagbhata

A typical example is contained in the following recipe :

Sulphate of copper, red ochre, realgar, orpiment, sulphate of iron &c., are recommended for external application for genital sores.

PREPARATIONS OF GOLD, SILVER, COPPER, IRON AND LEAD

Gold, copper, silver, iron or tin are to be taken with the myrobalans, rock-salt and honey, &c.

Gold, silver, copper and iron are to be taken in conjunction with bitumen and milk.

Take 64 parts of stibium¹ and one part each of copper, iron, silver and gold ; now roast them in a closed crucible &c.²

Take 30 parts of lead, 5 parts of sulphur, 2 parts of copper and orpiment each, 1 part of tin and 3 parts of stibium. Now roast them in a closed crucible.³

[Here as well as in the preceding sloka, we have distinct mention of *अमृषा* or a *crucible with the lid on*. This is one of the preparations which can be brought into line with those of the Tantric and Iatro-chemical periods.]

PREPARATION OF ALKALI AND CAUSTIC ALKALI⁴

[As Vāgbhat borrows his method of preparation of alkali almost word for word from Susruta, it is quite superfluous to reproduce it here.]

(1) “*स्तीताञ्जन*” Srotoṅjana is evidently stibnite or the native sulphide of antimony (See p. 29); Dutt translates it, we know not on what grounds, as calx-spar.

(2) *Uttarasthānam*, Ch. XIII, 20-21.

(3) *Ibid.*, Ch. XIII, 31-32.

(4) *Sūtra*, Ch. XXX.

USE OF MERCURY

Take equal parts of mercury and lead and make them up into a collyrium with their equal weight of stibium and camphor.¹ [This is perhaps the only instance in which the mention of mercury is found.]

(1) *Uttarasthanam*, Ch. xiii, 36. This very formula, with but slight variations, occurs also in *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, Ch. xxiii, 46.

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

(From 800 A. D. to circa 1100 A.D.)

Chemistry in the Siddha Yoga of Vrinda and in Chakrapani

CHAPTER I

VRINDA

(Circa 900 A. D.)

PREPARATIONS IN WHICH SULPHIDE OF COPPER AND LEIHOP'S MINERAL FIGURE

Sulphur, copper and the pyrites are to be pounded together with mercury and subjected to roasting in a closed crucible and the product thus obtained to be administered with honey. This is known as *parpatī tāmram*.¹

Take one part of sulphur and half its weight of mercury [The components to be rubbed together.].....The same to be administered with honey and clarified butter. This is called *rasāmrita churnam*.²

Quicksilver, rubbed with the juice of *Dhatūra s. or Piper betle*, and applied externally, kills lice. (Poona ed. p. 122)

A COLLYRIUM

Compounded of 14 ingredients amongst which occur the belleric myrobalans, rock-salt, *killed* copper and blue vitriol—all in the powdered form. (Poona edition, p. 470.)

This very preparation, in identical recension, occurs in Chakrapāni under the name of *Nāgārjuna Varti*.

(1) This preparation does not occur in the Poona edition, but is to be found in the Kashmir Ms. under रसायनाधिकारः ।

(2) *The* Kāsmir Ms. under अस्त्रपिचामधिकारः omitted in the Poona edition.

A PROCESS OF KILLING IRON

The text which occurs only in the Kāsmīr Ms. under रसायनाधिकारः, but unfortunately in a mutilated form, would seem to indicate that the iron is to be first ignited in the fire and then macerated in the juice of the emblic myrobalan, and *trewia nudiflora* and exposed to the sun, and again to be macerated in the juice of certain other plants and then to be rubbed in a mortar.

CHAPTER II

CHAKRAPANI

(Circa 1060 A. D.)

BLACK SULPHIDE OF MERCURY (KAJJALI)

or

Æthiops Mineral

The first process consists in the purification of mercury.

“Quicksilver, rubbed repeatedly in the juice expressed from *Sesbania aculeata*, *ricinus communis*, *zingiber* and *solanum nigrum*, becomes purified.”

“Take one part of mercury and one part of sulphur, rub the two together in a mortar and thus prepare *kajjali* or *rasaparpati*.¹”

TAMRAYOGA (LIT. POWDER OF COPPER COMPOUND)

“Take a thin leaf of Nepalese copper and embed it in powdered sulphur. The substances are to be placed inside a saucer-shaped earthen-ware vessel and covered with another. The rims are luted with sugar or powdered rice-paste. The apparatus is heated in a sand bath for three hours. The copper thus prepared is pounded and administered with other drugs.”

PROCESS OF KILLING IRON

“I shall now describe the science of iron as promulgated by the sage Nāgārjuna.” [A tedious process given with wearisome minutiae of which the substance only is reproduced below.]

A bar of iron is to be rubbed with the levigated powder of the following vegetable products among others : the belleric myrobalans *clitoria ternatea*, *vitis quadrangularis*, *boharhaavia*

(1) Chakrapāṇi himself claims its discovery or at any rate its introduction : रसदर्पटिका ख्याता निवद्धा चक्रपाणिना । Vrinda, however, recommends its use as well.

diffusa and *verbesina calend.* It is then strongly heated to the fusion point and plunged into the decoction of the myrobalans. The iron is then powdered by being beaten with an iron hammer. The powder is then digested in the decoction of the myrobalans and roasted repeatedly in a crucible.

MANDURA OR RUST OF IRON

Rust of iron is prescribed in combination with other drugs.

RECIPE FOR A SOAP TO BE USED AS A DEPILATORY

The ashes of *schrebera swiet.* and *cassia fist.* are to be mixed with lime from burnt shells and lixiviated with the urine of the ass. The lye is then to be boiled with a definite weight of mustard oil.

PREPARATION OF CAUSTIC ALKALI

[Much the same as in the Susruta]

THE TANTRIC PERIOD

(From 1100 A. D. to circa 1300 A. D.)

CHAPTER I

Chemistry in Rasarnava

[In *Rasārnava*, as in all other *Tantras*, knowledge is imparted in the shape of a dialogue between Bhairava (Siva) and his consort Pārvatī.]

EXTRACTS FROM BOOK IV—ON APPARATUS AND THE COLOUR OF FLAMES

Sri Bhairava said :

“The *rasas*, the *uparasas* (see p. 43), the metals, a piece of cloth, *bidam*, (see p. 40) a pair of bellows, iron implements, stone pestles and mortars, the apparatus known as *Koshī* (see p. 38), mouth blow pipe * * * cow-dung, substantial wood (as fuel), various kinds of earthen apparatus (*e. g.* crucibles &c.), a pair of tongs and earthen and iron vessels, weights and balances, bamboo and iron pipes, the fats, the acids, the salts and the alkalies, the poisons—all these are to be collected and chemical operations begun.”

DOLA YANTRAM

As R. R. S.¹ borrows the description of this apparatus *verbatim*, it is unnecessary to repeat it here.²

AN APPARATUS FOR KILLING METALS

“Make two iron crucibles, each 12 digits in length, the one with a narrow orifice containing sulphur is inserted into the other holding mercury; below the mercury is placed water [in a separate vessel]. The mercury and the sulphur should be carefully moistened in garlic juice, which has been filtered through a cloth. The apparatus is now lodged in an earthen pot and another

(1) R. R. S. is the abbreviation for *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*.

(2) See Book ix. of R. R. S.

placed over it, the rims being luted with cloth previously smeared with earth * * now cow-dung fire is urged. After continuing heating for three days the apparatus is taken out." [This description, in almost identical recension, occurs in R. R. S. under the name of जारणायन्त्रम्. The language is faulty and the meaning not very clear.]

GARBHA YANTRAM

"I shall now describe the *Garbha Yantram* for reducing *pistika*¹ to ashes. Make a crucible 4 digits in length, and 3 digits in width, with its mouth rounded. Take 20 parts of salt and one of bdellium and pound them finely, adding water frequently; rub the crucible with this mixture. * * * Make a fire of paddy husks and apply gentle heat. In the course of one to three days the mercury is reduced to ashes." [Vide Illustrations]

EFFICACY OF THE APPARATUS

"For killing and colouring mercury, an apparatus is indeed a power. Without the use of herbs and drugs, mercury can be killed with the aid of an apparatus alone; hence an expert must not disparage the efficacy of the apparatus."

HAMSAPAKA YANTRAM

"Take an earthen dish and fill it with sand and place another over it; apply gentle heat. Now digest in this apparatus [the ingredients] with the five alkalies (cf. pp. 24 and 38), the urines (see p. 16), and the *bida* (see p. 40). This is known as *Hamsapāka Yantram* by the adepts."²

CRUCIBLES

"Earth of black, red, yellow and white colour * * * burnt husks of paddy, soot, earth from the ant-hill, well burnt excrements of the goat and the horse * * * rust of iron" * * [varying proportions of the above ingredients are used for making crucibles, retorts, &c.]

(1) A paste of mercury and sulphur.

(2) R. R. S. has borrowed the descriptions of *Garbha Yantram* and *Hamsapāka Yantram*.

"There are two kinds of crucibles, *viz.*, open and covered (lit. blind) * * * the covered one resembles the nipple of a cow and is fitted with a lid, which has a raised head.

"For the purification of silver the crucible is best made of two parts of the ashes of *Schrebera swietenoides*, and one part each of brick dust and earth."¹

COLOUR OF FLAMES

"Copper yields a blue flame.....that of the tin is pigeon-coloured; that of the lead is pale-tinted².....that of the iron is tawny; ...that of the "peacock" ore (*sasyaka*) is red."

TESTS OF A PURE METAL

"A pure metal is that which, when melted in a crucible, does not give off sparks nor bubbles, nor spurts, nor emits any sound, nor shows any lines on the surface, but is tranquil like a gem."³

KOSHṬĪ APPARATUS

"For extracting the essence of metals a *koshṭi* apparatus [*Vide* Illustrations] is preferred, which is 16 digits in width and 2 cubits in length."

COLOPHON TO CHAPTER IV

"Here ends Chapter fourth of Rasārṇava, which treats of apparatus, crucibles and the colour of flames."

THE ALKALIES

"The three alkalies are the borax, trona (natron) and *Yavakshāra* (carbonate of potash). The ashes of sesamum, *achyranthes aspera*, *musa sapientum*., *butea frondosa*, *moringa pterygosperma*, *mochika*, (*schrebera swietenoides*), *raphanus sativus*, *zingiber officinale*, tamar-

(1) The porous crucible is of the nature of a "cupel".

(2) Cf. "Lead compounds impart a pale tint to the non-luminous gas flame." (Roscoe and Schorlemmer)

(3) Or in modern phraseology shows "signs of tranquil fusion."

indus indicus and *figus relig.*, respectively are regarded as the standard plant ashes (वृक्षक्षाराः)।”

VII. 12-13

THE MAHARASAS

“Bhairava said :—“*mākshika*, *vināla*, *silā*, *chāpālā*, *rasakā*, *sasyakā*, *daradā* (p. 43) and *srotonjāna*,—these are the eight *maharasas*.” [*Vide* p. 43 and Explanatory Notes on Minerals.] VII. 2-3

COPPER FROM THE PYRITES

“*Mākshika*, repeatedly soaked in honey, oil of *ricinus communis*, urine of the cow, clarified butter and the extract of the bulbous root of *musa sapientum*, and heated in a crucible, yields an essence in the shape of copper.”

VII.-12-13

“*Vināla*, digested with alum, green vitriol, borax and the watery liquid expressed from *Moringa pter.*, *musa s.* and finally roasted in a covered crucible in combination with the ashes of *schrebera swiet.*, yields an essence in the shape of *chandraraka*¹ (lit. copper of gold like lustre.)”

Chāpālā : [See under R. R. S. Bk. ii.]

VII. 20-21

BRASS FROM CALAMINE AND COPPER MISTAKEN FOR GOLD

“*Rasakā* : There are three kinds of it ; namely of yellow colour, of the appearance of treacle, and of the colour of stones. What wonder is it that *Rasakā* mixed with [certain organic matters] and roasted three times with copper converts the latter into gold ?”

VII. 31-34

EXTRACTION OF ZINC FROM CALAMINE

“*Rasakā*, mixed with wool, lac, *T. chebula* and borax and roasted in a covered crucible, yields an essence of the appearance of tin : of this there is no doubt.”

VII. 37-38

Sasyakā.

VII. 41-44

[These couplets have been borrowed word for word by R. R. S. *Vide* Bk. ii ; hence repetition is unnecessary.]

(1) R. R. S. has borrowed this description and added some more characteristics of the mineral, from which it would appear that *Vināla* is also a variety of pyrites. (*Vide* R. R. S. Bk. ii.)

SAURASTRI

Saurastri (alum), distillation of: See under R. R. S., which has also borrowed this description *verbatim*. VII. 73-74

THE METALS

"O goddess! listen now to what I say about the metals.

"Gold, silver, copper, iron, tin and lead, these are the six metals and their resistance to waste [*i.e.* rusting] is in the order in which they have been mentioned." VII. 89-90

THE KILLING OF METALS

"Hear attentively as I shall now speak of the killing of metals.

"There is no such elephant of a metal which cannot be killed by the lion of a sulphur." VII. 138-142

Bhairava said: "*Kāśīśa*¹, rock-salt, the pyrites, *Sauvira*², the aggregate of the three spices³, sulphur, saltpetre, the juice expressed from *Mālati*⁴—all these moistened with the juice of the root of *moringa pter.*, makes a *bida*, which would kill all [the metals]." IX. 2-3

"Sulphur, orpiment, sea salt, salt, sal-ammoniac, borax—these digested with the ashes and the urines, give rise to another kind of *bida*."

* * * *

"Having thus collected the ingredients, O goddess, begin the chemical operations! I have told you all, what more do you want to hear?" IX. 4-20

PURIFICATION OF QUICKSILVER

"Quicksilver, rubbed with the juice of the aforesaid plants (*vide* original text) and distilled seven times, becomes pure."

"Quick-silver, made into a paste by being rubbed with copper and subjected to distillation, leaves behind tin and lead [with which they are often adulterated] and becomes pure." X. 55-56

KILLING OF MERCURY

"Green-vitriol, alum, salt, borax, mixed with the afore-said

1) Green vitriol. (2) Stibnite. (3) namely, black pepper, long pepper and dry ginger. (4) *Echites caryophyllata*, Rox.

vegetable drugs (*vide* original text), kill mercury in an instant [in the shape of calomel].”

XI. 24

KILLING OF GOLD

“Salt-petre, green vitriol, sea-salt, rock-salt, mustard, borax, sal-ammoniac, camphor, the pyrites—all these are to be taken in equal parts. The crucible is to be smeared with the milky juice of *euphorbia neriifolia* and *asclepias gigantea*; then, having added the powder of the aforesaid *bida*, the gold is to be killed, my beloved!”

XI. 83-84

TESTS FOR KILLED MERCURY

“When the mercury assumes divers colours after having given up its fluidity, it is known as swooned; killed mercury is that which does not show signs of fluidity, mobility and lustre.”

XI. 197-198

COLOURING OF METALS

“Iron, lead, and copper are coloured by means of calamine—the whole turns into gold.” (Cf. VII. 31—34.)

XII. 50

“Mercury is composed of the five elements and represents Siva himself.”

XII. 78

“Take one *pala* of the ash of mercury and rub it with the same weight of sulphur and roast the mixture in a covered crucible: thus we get vermillion of the colour of the rising sun.”

XVI. 81

“Take the vitriol which is of the colour of the throat of the peacock, saffron, calamine, as also the excrement of a young calf, the poisons, powdered *plumbago zeylanica*, all in equal proportions, rub them with the acids and dry in the shade. Having added honey to the above mixture, smear it on a thin sheet of lead. When roasted in a covered crucible, the lead is coloured in no time; the lead which is now of beautiful colour is fit for bedecking the persons of the gods.”¹

XVIII. 70-74

(1) Refers probably to the “gold-like alloy used by watch-makers” into the composition of which copper, zinc and lead enter. See Roscoe and Schor., II. p. 494, ed. 1897.

THE IATRO=CHEMICAL PERIOD

(From 1300 A. D. to circa 1550 A. D.)

CHAPTER I

Chemistry in Rasaratnasamuchchaya

BOOK I

Salutation to him—the excellent, the greatest physician of the world, by the nectareous ocean of whose benign glance, resplendent with brilliance, born of everything that is joyous and auspicious and which acts like unfailing elixir, the diseases of his devotees, such as birth, death, old age and worldly attachment, are cured in an instant.¹

Ādima,² Chandrasena, Lankeśa, Bisārada, Kapāli, Matta, Māṇḍavya, Bhāskara, Sūrasenaka, Ratnakosa, Sambhu, Sāttvika, Naravāhana, Indrada, Gomukha, Kambali, Vyādī, Nāgārjuna, Surānanda, Nāgabodhi, Vasodhana, Khanda, Kāpālika, Brahmā, Govinda, Lampaka and Hari—these are the twenty-seven experts on Alchemy as also Rasāṃkusa, Bhairava, Nandī, Svachchhanda-bhairava, Manthānabhairava, Kakachandisvara, Vāsudeva, R̥ṣhya-sringa, the compiler of alchemy, the ascetic Rasendratilaka, Bhāluki, who has got the appellation of Maithili, Mahādeva, Narendra, Ratnākara and Harisvara.

2-7

This treatise on well-trying mercurials and minerals, named “Rasaratnasamuchchaya,” adapted to the treatment of diseases, is being compiled by the son of Simhagupta, after having consulted the works of the aforesaid adepts and others. It will treat of mercury,

(1) The salutation is strictly Buddhistic and is on all fours with the opening lines of Vāgbhata's *Aṣṭāṅgarhida* and of *Amarakośha*, both of which are known to be by Buddhist authors; cf. also *Lalitavistara*:

वैद्यः सर्वस्य लोकस्य वन्द्योऽहमपि तं विभी । VII. p. 123. R.L. Mitra's ed.

जराव्याधिकलितानां प्रादुर्भूतो भिषग्वरः । XII. p. 150.

2 The Benares Ms. reads *Āgama*.

the minerals and the metals, the construction of the apparatus, the mystical formulæ for the purification of the metals, the extraction of the essences (active principles), liquefaction and incineration. 8-10

[Here follows a description of the virtues of mercury and its mythical origin.]

By partaking of mercury, men are freed from a multitude of diseases, arising out of the sins of former existence—of this there is no doubt. 26

He who falls foul of mercury, which is the generative principle of Siva, will rot in the hell *æon* after *æon*. 29

From the mouth of the God of fire * * mercury dropped into the country of Darada¹ and it has there remained ever so long. The soil of that region, on being subjected to distillation, yields mercury. 89-90

COLOPHON

Here ends Book first of *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, composed by Vāgbhata, son of *Simhagupta*, Prince of Physicians.

BOOK II

THE RASAS

[In the Hindu *Materia Medica* the mineral kingdom is broadly divided into the *Rasas* and the *Uparasas*, the *Ratnas* (gems) and the *Lohas* (metals). The term *Rasa* is in general reserved for mercury, though it is equally applicable to a mineral or a metallic salt. In the oldest medical works, e.g. the *Charaka* and the *Susruta*, *Rasa*

(1) Dardistan, the mountainous region about Kāsmīr, is famous for the ores of cinnabar from which mercury is extracted. Darada is in fact a name of cinnabar. The auriferous region of the Daradas is mentioned by Humboldt (*Cosmos* 11. p. 513, E. C. Otté) who places it either in the Thibetan highlands east of the Bolor chain, west of Iskardo, or towards the desert of Gobi described also as auriferous by Hiouen Tshang. Regarding Parada and Darada see also Lassen's *Alterthumskunde*, 1. pp. 848-49. It seems probable that "parada" (quicksilver) and "darada" (cinnabar) owe their names to the countries from which their supply was obtained.

has the literal meaning of juice or fluid of the body which according to the notions of humoral pathology engenders blood, serum, sweat, &c. (see p. 23). *Rasakriā*¹ in the Susruta means fluid extract or concentrated decoction. As mercurial and metallic preparations gradually came into vogue and even began to supplant the vegetable drugs, the term *rasa* began to be substituted for quicksilver on account of its semi-fluid character and its supposed miraculous therapeutical action on the juices or humours of the body (Cf. Rig-Veda, *Somarasā : Vide* Intro.). In the Bhāvaprakāsa we find *rasa* used in a two-fold sense, ancient and comparatively modern.²

In the older works, *Rasāyana* (derived from *rasa*, juice, and *ayana*, way) means a medicine preventing old age and prolonging life—the *Elixir vite*.³ Later on *Rasāyana* was almost exclusively applied to the employment of mercury and other metals in medicine and at present it means also alchemy (chemistry). Our author uses the term *Rasasiddhipradāyaka* (1-5), which is derived from *rasa*, mercury, *siddhi*, accomplishment and *pradāyaka*, giver or bestower, i.e., lit. giver of accomplishment in mercury i.e. an expert on alchemy. Wilson in his *Dictionary* thus happily renders *Rasasiddhi*: “The knowledge of alchemy, the possession of peculiar familiarity with mercury obtained by the performance of chemical operations

(1) सालसारादिसारिषु पटीलविफलसु च

रसक्रिया विधातव्या शोधनी शोधनेषु च । *Sūtra*. Chap. xxxvi, 19.

(2) सम्यक् पक्वस्य भुक्तस्य सारो निगदितोरसः ।

स तु द्रवः सितः शीतः स्वादुः क्षिप्रश्चली भवेत् ॥ Vol. I, p. 59. ed. Kālisa Chandra

Sen Gupta.

In the above sloka, *rasa* is used in the sense of *chyle*. Again :—

रसायनार्थिभिर्लोकैः पारदो रस्यते यतः ।

ततो रस इति प्रीक्तः स च धातुरपि स्मृतः ॥ *ibid.* p. 442

Here *rasa* is used as a synonym of mercury and regarded as a metal.

(3) For the definition of the term *Rasāyana* in the Charaka, see p. 17; cf. also “रसायनञ्च तज्ज्ञेयं यच्चरास्याधिविनाशनम्” *Sarvagadhara*. Cf. also : “Dies Wort (*rasa*) nämlich hat nicht nur der *rasagñāna*, d. i. Kenntniss der Säfte, einem Kapitel der Medicin, sondern einer Benennung der Alchemie *rasasāstra*, dann *rasasiddhi*, durch Quecksilber erlangte Vollkommenheit, das Vertrautsein mit der Alchemie, sowie desgl. *rasēन्द्रादसना* (wörtl. Untersuchung des Säfte-Herrschers, d. i. Quecksilbers), Lehre der Alchemisten (dieser heisst *Rasāyana*) seinen Namen geliehen und ausserdem in Compositen einer Menge chemischer Substanzen.”—Pott, Chemie oder Chymie? Zeit. deut. Morg. Ges. xxx, 7.

conjoined with certain mystical and magical rites and the securing thence to the adept of happiness, health and wealth ; the power of transmuting metals and the art of prolonging life."

[With these prefatory remarks, we shall now allow our author to proceed.]

Abhra (mica), *Vaikrānta*, *Mākshika* (pyrites), *Vimala*, *Adrija* (bitumen), *Sasyaka*, *Chapala* and *Rasaka* : these 8 *Rasas* are to be identified and collected.¹ [*Vide* "Explanatory Notes on the Minerals" at the end of Chap. I]

ABHRA

There are three varieties of mica, namely, *pinākam*, *nāgamandukam* and *vajram* and each of these again are of four different colours—white, red, yellow and black. 5-10

Mica, the layers of which can be easily detached, is preferred. Mica, which is as bright as the moon and which has the lustre of the rust of iron, does not take up or combine with (lit. swallow) mercury. That which has taken up mercury can alone be used with the metals and administered in medicine. Mica, which has been *killed*, is prescribed in the treatment of various diseases. The variety which has the lustre of the moon, if taken internally, brings on dyspepsia and urinary disorders. 12-14

Mica, heated seven times and plunged into sour gruel or cow's urine or decoction of the chebulic myrobalans or cow's milk, is freed from all impurities. 17-18

Mica, mixed with paddy grains and reduced to powder, tied in a piece of cloth and suspended in sour gruel and then passed through linen, is known as *Dhānyabhram* (lit. mica in combination with paddy). *Dhānyabhram* rubbed with the juice of *cassia sophora* and roasted ten times in a closed crucible is *killed* thereby. 24

VAIKRANTA

Vaikranta has eight faces and six angles, is slippery and

¹ *Rasārnava* (p. 39) recognises the following eight minerals:—*mākshika*, *vimala*, *adrija*, *chapala*, *rasaka*, *sasyaka*, *daruda* (cinnabar) and *srotoñjana* (stibium).

heavy and of uniform or mixed tint. It has 8 different colours, *viz.*, white, red, yellow, blue, with the shades met with in the down of the pigeon, grass-green, black and variegated. 55-56

Vaikranta is a powerful tonic and reckoned among the sovereign medicines. It is a destroyer of all (bodily) disorders and is employed in the place of diamond. 57-58

Vaikranta is of the shape of diamond. It is found in the north or south of, or all about, the Vindhya mountains. 60-61

Vaikranta is purified by being heated three days with the salts and the alkalies or by digestion with the acids, urines or a decoction of *dolichos uniflorus* and the plantain or of *paspalum scrobiculatum*. It is killed by being roasted in a covered crucible eight times in combination with sulphur and lemon juice and *pasp. scrobi*. 67-68

Vaikranta, after being heated and plunged into the urine of the horse, ought to be repeatedly roasted and then reduced to ashes. 69

Vaikranta after incineration is substituted for diamond. 70

Macerated in the ashes of *schrebera swiet.*, *butea frondosa* and cow's urine and mixed with the powdered root of *euphorb. antiq.*, turmeric . . . borax, powdered lac and made into balls with the milky juice of *asclepias gem.* and honey and strongly heated in a closed crucible, *vaikranta* yields its essence. Of this there is no doubt. 70-72

COPPER PYRITES

Mākshikam (pyrites) is born of mountains yielding gold . . . and is produced in the bed of the river Tāpī and in the lands of the Kirātās, the Chinese and the Yavanas. 77

Pyrites is of two kinds—golden and silvery: the former is a native of Kanouj and is of golden yellow colour. The silvery pyrites is associated with stones and is of inferior quality. 81

Rubbed with the juice of lemons and sulphur and roasted in a closed crucible it is *killed*. 84

Mākshika, repeatedly steeped in honey, oil of the seeds of *ricinus communis*, urine of the cow, clarified butter and the extract of the bulbous root of *musa sapientum* and gently roasted in a crucible, yields an essence in the shape of copper. 89-90

VIMALA

Vimala is described as of three kinds according as it has the lustre of gold, silver and brass respectively. 96

It is rounded and is also endowed with angles and faces. 97

It is killed by being roasted ten times with sulphur, bitumen, *artocarpus lakoocha* and the acids. 100

Vimala, rubbed with borax, the juice of *artocarpus lakoocha* and the ash of *schrebera swiet.*, and roasted in a covered crucible, yields an essence of the appearance of gold.¹ 101

Vimala, digested with alum, green vitriol, borax and the watery liquid expressed from *moringa pter.*, *musa* s., and finally roasted in a covered crucible in combination with the ashes of *schrebera swiet.*, yields an essence in the shape of *chandraya* (lit. copper of gold-like lustre). 103-104

SILAJATU

Silajatu (bitumen) is of two kinds, one having the smell of cow's urine, the other resembling camphor. It oozes out in the heat of the sun at the foot of the Himālayas from the bowels of gold, silver and copper respectively.² (cf. *ante* p. 21) 106

SASYAKA

Sasyaka (blue vitriol) . . . has the play of colour in the throat of the peacock (*i.e.* has blue tint). *Mayuratattham* is an emetic, an antidote to poisons and a destroyer of the whiteness of the skin. 127-129

It is killed by being roasted in a covered crucible with the juice of *artocarpus lakoocha*, sulphur, bitumen and borax. 132

EXTRACTION OF COPPER

Take blue vitriol and one-fourth its weight of borax and soak the mixture in the oil expressed from the seeds of *pongamia*

(1) The text reads : **सौमसंनिभः** :=*lead-like*, which however conveys no adequate meaning. A variant is **सौतसंनिभः** :=*gold-like*.

(2) The resins of the *styrax benzoicum* and also a variety of bitumen, especially the latter are referred to. The description is evidently borrowed from the Charaka and the Susruta.

glabra for one day only and then place it in a covered crucible and heat in the charcoal fire—by this process an essence is obtained from it of the beautiful appearance of coccinella insect.¹ 133-134

Or, enclosed in a crucible with borax and the juice of lemons and strongly heated, it yields an essence in the shape of copper. 135

Pure blue vitriol, of the colour of peacock, in combination with the aforesaid drugs and by the application of various processes, gives up its essence. 136

CHAPALA

There are four varieties of *Chapala*—yellow, white, red and black. That which has the lustre of gold or silver is most appropriate for the fixation of mercury. The last two are indifferent and readily melt like lac and are useless. *Chapala* melts like tin when heated over fire—hence the name. 143-144

Chapala has six faces and the lustre of a crystal.² 146

RASAKA

Rasaka (calamine) is of two kinds : the one of laminated structure is known as *dardura*; the other, non-laminated, is called *karavellaka*. 149

Calamine is to be heated and plunged seven times into the juice expressed from the seeds of lemon or immersed in the urine of man or of horse or in sour gruel or sour milk and thus purified. 154-155

EXTRACTION OF ZINC

Rub calamine with turmeric, the chebulic myrobalans, resin, the salts, soot, borax and one fourth its weight of *semicarpus anacardium*, and the acid juices. Smear the inside of a tubulated crucible with the above mixture and dry it in the sun

(1) *i. e.*, red; in the *Charaka*, blood is described as having the colour of the *coccinella* insect. Couplets 133 and 134 have been borrowed almost *verbatim* from *Rasārṇava*.

(2) It is not clear what substance is really meant by the term *Chapala*; its radical meaning is mobile or fickle, hence it is a name often given to quicksilver.

and close its mouth with another inverted over it, and apply heat. When the flame issuing from the molten calamine changes from blue to white, the crucible is caught hold of by means of a pair of tongs and its mouth held downwards and it is thrown on the ground, care being taken not to break its tubulure.¹ The essence possessing the lustre of tin which is dropped is collected for use. 157-161

Calamine is to be powdered with lac, treacle, white mustard, the myrobalans, natron and borax and the mixture boiled with milk and clarified butter and made into balls. These are to be enclosed in a crucible and strongly heated. The contents are then poured on a slab of stone—the essence of calamine of the beautiful appearance of tin (thus obtained) is to be used. 163-164

Or a vessel filled with water is to be placed inside a *koshzhī* apparatus and a perforated cup or saucer placed over it; a crucible charged as above is to be fixed in an inverted position over the saucer and strongly heated by means of the fire of jujube (*sizyphus injuba*) charcoal: the essence which drops into the water should be applied (in medicine). [*vide* illustrations] 165-166

This essence is to be mixed with orpiment and thrown over an earthen dish and rubbed with an iron rod till it is reduced to ashes. [From the context it is evident that the operation is to be performed over fire.] 167-168

BOOK III

THE UPARASAS OR INFERIOR RASAS

Sulphur, red ochre, vitriol, alum, orpiment, realgar, *añjana* and *kamkustha*—these are the eight *uparasas*, useful in operations of mercury. I

[Here follows the mythical origin of sulphur.]* * *

(1) The Benares Ms. reads “यथा नालं भज्यते” and drops न which would mean so “as to break its tubulure.”

SULPHUR

Sulphur is of three kinds : that of the first quality resembles the beak of a parrot ; that of the second quality is yellow ; whereas the white variety is the worst. Another authority says : there are four kinds of sulphur according as it is of white, yellow, red and black colour respectively..... the black variety is rare.¹

12-15

Melted sulphur is poured into the juice of *verbesina calendula-cca* and thus purified.

23

A vessel which contains milk has its mouth tied down with a piece of cloth, over which is deposited finely powdered sulphur ; the latter again covered with an earthen bowl. Heat is applied from above by burning cow-dung cakes. The melted sulphur drops into the milk and is thus purified.

24-25

GAIRIKA

Gairika (red ochre) is of two kinds : the one, *pāshāna gairika*, is hard and copper-coloured ; the other is *svarna gairika* i.e. of the colour of gold (yellow).

46

KASISA

Kāsisa (sulphate of iron) is of two kinds : *vāluka-kāsisa* and *pushpa-kāsisa*. [The former termed in other works *dhātukassīa* is the green variety and the latter, the *basic* or yellowish variety.]

51

Its essence is to be extracted like that of alum.

54

TUVARI

Tuvārī (alum) : the fragrant earth produced in the mountains of Surat is known as *tuvārī*, which dyes cloth and fixes the colour of madder².

59

A second variety of it called *phatakī* or *phullika* is slightly yellow Another variety known as *phulla tuvārī* is white

(1) Cf. "il y a des soufres des diverses couleurs ; l'un rouge, l'autre jaune un autre blanc pariél á l'ivoire ;...un autre, noir, qui ne vaut rien."— La Chimie au moyen âge, I, 307

2 i.e. forms lakes.

and acid in taste ; iron changes to copper by the process of *lepa* [cf. Bk. VIII, 80 ; where the term “लपः” is used in the sense of transmutation of the baser metals. The author seems to convey the idea that alum plays an important part in this process.] 60-62

Alum is astringent, acid, beneficial to the eye...and a *killer* of mercury¹. 63

Alum is to be macerated in the bile of the ox one-hundred times and then its essence is to be extracted by distillation²—a very secret process, not to be divulged. 65

TALAKA

Tālaka (orpiment) is of two kinds : the one is of a leafy structure, the other is found in balls or cakes and is of golden colour . . . and bright. 66

It is purified by being digested in the juice of cucumber and the alkaline water of the ashes of sesamum or in lime water. 69

Tālaka is to be rubbed with buffalo's urine and thrice macerated in the decoction of *butea frondosa* of the consistency of honey, and then to be roasted in a covered crucible and powdered. This operation is to be repeated twelve times. It is then fit to be used in medicines.³ 74-75

Take one *pala* of *talaka* and rub it for one day with the milky juice of *calopropis gigantea* and mix it with the same weight of oil and heat it in an open place for 7 days and nights together. Collect the white essence when it has cooled down.⁴ 80-81

MANASSILA

Manassila (realgar) is mixed with one-eighth part of its weight

(1) पारदजारणी ; Cf. the various formulae for the preparation of calomel in which alum yields sulphuric acid and plays an important part.

(2) पातयन् सत्वम् ; here distillation is expressly mentioned. Couplet 65 is borrowed from: *Rasārnava*.

(3) Most likely a sulpharsenite of potash is formed. The process in *Rasen-brasārasamgraha* is more scientific. “*Tālaka* is to be cut into small pieces and rubbed with lime water and the alkaline water derived from the ash of *achyranthes aspera* and is then to be enclosed in carbonate of potash and roasted.”

(4) It is evident that the operation is to be performed in a glass retort or in the *koshā* apparatus described below under realgar.

of iron-rust, molasses, bdellium and clarified butter and enclosed in the *koshā* apparatus [see p. 38] and strongly heated, when it yields its essence. 95

THE ANJANAS

The Anjanas (collyriums): of these there are *Sauvīraṇjana*, *Rasāṇjana*, *Srotoṇjana*, *Pushpāṇjana* and *Nilāṇjana*; their properties are described below. 97-98.

Nilāṇjana is a *killer* of gold [cf. the *killing* of gold, silver, iron and copper in Vāgbhata, p. 30] and induces softness in iron *i.e.* renders it easily pulverizable [as the iron becomes impregnated with the brittle sulphide of iron; cf. also Bk. viii., 38.] 104

The essence of the anjanas is to be extracted like that of realgar. 105

[We quote below the account given in Dutt's *Materia Medica of the Hindus*, as our author gives rather scanty information on this point:

“Galena or sulphide of lead is called *aṇjana* or *sauvīraṇjana* in Sanskrit, and *krishna surma* in vernacular. It is called *aṇjana*, which literally means collyrium or medicine for the eyes, from the circumstance of its being considered the best application or cosmetic for them. The other varieties of *aṇjana* mentioned are *Srotoṇjana*, *Pushpāṇjana* and *Rasāṇjana*.

“*Sauvīraṇjana* (सौवीराञ्जन) is said to be obtained from the mountains of Sauvira, a country along the Indus, whence it derives its name. The article supplied under its vernacular name *Surma* is the sulphide of lead ore. *Sauvira* is usually translated as sulphide of antimony, but I have not been able to obtain a single specimen of the antimonial ore from the shops of Calcutta and of some other towns. The sulphide of antimony occurs in fine, streaky, fibrous crystalline masses of a radiated texture. The lead ore on the contrary occurs in cubic masses destitute of rays and is tabular in its crystalline arrangement.

“*Srotoṇjana* (स्रोतोञ्जन) is described as of white colour, and is said to be produced in the bed of the Yamunā and other rivers. It is called *Saffed Surma* in the vernacular, and the article supplied under this name by Hindustani medicine-vendors is cal-

careous or Iceland spar.¹ It is used as a collyrium for the eyes, but is considered inferior to the black *surma* or galena.

“*Pushpañjana* (पुष्पाञ्जन) is described as an alkaline substance. I have not met with any vernacular translation of this word nor with any person who could identify or supply the drug. Wilson, in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, translates the term as calx of brass, but I know not on what authority.

“*Rasañjana* (रसाञ्जन) is the extract of the wood of *berberis Asiatica* called *rasot* in the vernacular.”]

Kāmkustham is produced at the foot of the Himalayas Some are of opinion that it is the excrement of a new-born elephant . . . it is of white and and yellow colour and is a strong purgative.²

109-112

THE COMMON RASAS

Kampilla, *Chapala*,³ *Gauripāshāna*, *Navasāraka*, *Kaparda*, *Agniñjara*, *Girisindura*, *Hingula*, *Mriddīrasringakam*: these are the eight common *Rasas* regarded as useful adjuncts to chemical operations by Nāgārjuna and other experts.

120-121

*Kampilla*⁴ is like brick-dust . . . a purgative . . . natural product of Surat . . . and a vermifuge.

*Gauripāshāna*⁵ is of the lustre of rock-crystal, conch and turmeric respectively . . . its white essence is to be extracted like that of orpiment.

124-125

NAVASARA AND OTHER RASAS

Navasāra (sal ammoniac) is begot of the decomposition of the shoots of bamboos and of the wood of *careya arborea*; *navasāra* is an alkali, its another name is *chulikālavana* (lit. salt

(1) See, however, *ante* p. 30.

(2) Not well made out. According to Wilson, it is a medicinal earth, described as of two colours, one of a silvery and one of a gold colour.

(3) Including *Chapala* there are nine common *Rasas*; but *Chapala* has already been considered as a *mahārasa*. (see p. 48)

(4) The red mealy powder covering the capsules of *mallotus Phillippensis*, also known as *kamalā*. It is not clear why this substance should have found a place among the products of the mineral kingdom.

(5) Not easy to identify; lit., it means white stone or marble.

deposited in the hearth), it is produced during the burning of the brick . . . it kills mercury, liquefies iron, is a stomachic, an absorbent of the spleen, and aids digestion after much eating.¹

127-129

Varātaka (cowrie or marine shell): alchemists prefer shells which are of yellow colour, knotty and possessed of circular lines on the dorsal side . . . macerated for three hours in sour gruel, it undergoes purifications.²

130-134

Agniñjāra is a substance discharged from the womb of a kind of sea-crocodile and dried in the sun.³

135

Girisindūra (lit. vermillion derived from the rocks) occurs among the big mountains (inside the rocks).

137

Hingula (cinnabar : Syn. *darada*, see p. 43) ; quicksilver extracted from it is as efficacious as killed sulphur. When *darada* is placed in a retort and its essence collected in water, it yields the same substance as quicksilver—of this there is no doubt. [The apparatus referred to is shown in the illustrations.]

141-144

Mridddarasringakam [various readings of the text are given ; it is not easy to make out what substance is meant]. It is yellow and of leafy structure and occurs in Gujarat and round about mount Abu.

145

Rājāvarta (Lapis lazuli) has a bluish tint but with slight admix-

(1) It is of interest to note that Royle, who wrote in 1837, regrets that "no Hindu work on this subject (chemistry) has yet been translated" and is bold enough to predict that "Sal ammoniac must have been familiar to the Hindus, ever since they have burnt bricks, as they now do, with the manure of animals as some may usually be found crystallized at the unburnt extremity of the kiln."—*Antiquity of Hindu Medicine*. Royle's surmises have proved to be literally correct. The word "Navasara" is apparently of Persian origin being corrupted from "*Nausadar*."

(2) The text is almost exactly the same as in *Rasendrasārasamgraha*, which gives an additional method of purifying the cowrie, namely : "Dig a hole in the ground and fill it partly with the husk of paddy, now place on it a crucible containing cowries ; cover it with cow-dung cakes and set fire to the mass. By this process the cowries are reduced to ashes." It is the lime thus obtained, which is often used in medicine.

(3) Not identified. Perhaps the origin is mythical. नक्र is a crocodile, but as is well-known this Saurian never flourishes in the sea. According to राज निघण्टु *agniñjara* is a marine medicinal plant.

ture of red.....it is killed by being powdered in combination with lemon juice and sulphur and roasted 7 times in a covered crucible.

149-153

BOOK IV

THE GEMS

The gems also are regarded as the agencies, which help the fixation or coagulation of mercury. These are the gems : *Vaīkrānta*, *Suryakānta* (sun-stone), *Hirakam* (diamond), *Mauktikam* (pearls), *Chandrakānta* (moon-stone), *Rājāvarta* (lapis lazuli) and *Garudodgara*, the emerald (lit. derived from the vomit of Garuda) ; the topaz, the sapphire, the coral, the cat's eye are also reckoned among the gems. These are to be carefully collected for the fixation of mercury.¹

1-3

VAJRAM

Vajram (diamond) is of three kinds : male, female and hermaphrodite, and its medicinal properties vary in excellence in the order in which they have been spoken.

26

The one with 8 angles and 8 faces and 6 corners, very brilliant, with the play of rainbow-colours² is known as the male diamond, whereas the female diamond is flattened and rounded whilst the neuter is rounded, obtuse-angled and slightly heavy.

27-28

(1) The ruby and the zircon are also mentioned. The *Vaīkrānta* "is a kind of gem said to resemble a diamond, and to be of similar properties." Wilson. *Suryakānta* and *Chandrakānta* are gems of fabulous existence, supposed to be formed by the congelation of the rays of the sun and moon respectively. They may also refer to some sort of crystals. The description of the gems, other than diamond, is meagre and vague. The following extracts from *Manimāla* or "A Treatise on Gems" by Sir Raja Saurindra Mohan Tagore, Mus. Doc., will, to a certain extent, make up for the deficiencies.

"Mention is made of gems and jewels in the earliest writings of the Hindus. The Vedas speak of a place illuminated by rubies and diamonds, which gave out a light as refulgent as that of the planets. Precious stones play a prominent part in the mythologies of the Hindus, in their traditions, poems and legends. In the two great epics of Hindustan, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, frequent mention is made of stones and pearls with which the kings and the people of the period used to decorate their persons."

(2) The high refractive and dispersive power of diamond is evidently referred to.

Each of these again is divided into 4 classes according to its colour namely: Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Sūdra.¹ 30

Diamond is a bestower of long life, a tonic, an allayer of the three derangements [namely, of air, phlegm and bile], a killer of all the ailments, a fixer of mercury, a subduer of death—in short it is like nectar. 32

Diamond is digested in the decoction of *kulattha* (*dolichos uniflorus*) or of *kodrava* (*Paspulum scrobiculatum*) for three hours and thus purified. Diamond is to be macerated four times in the blood of the bug and enclosed in a ball made of the flesh of the musk-rat and then to be roasted in a covered crucible 30 times or to be heated 100 times and plunged in the decoction of *kulattha*. 34-37

Diamond is to be placed in a covered crucible, the inside of which has been coated with realgar, rubbed with the decoction of *kulattha* and the juice of *artocarpus lakoocha* and roasted 8 times in succession in the fire of dry cow-dung cakes. It is then heated 100 times and thrown into pure mercury—the diamond is thus killed and reduced to fine ashes. 38-39

The voracious alchemist *Somasenanī*, after having convinced himself of the success of this process by his own experiments, has given it to the world. 40

Diamond is to be 7 times smeared in the blood of the bug and dried in the sun and then to be placed in an iron pot and filled with the juice of *cassia sophora* and heated 7 times. The diamond is sure to be reduced to ashes. This process has been described by the sage Brahmajyoti. 41-42

Diamond smeared with the powder of lead, levigated in the juice of the fruit of *madana* (*randia dumetorum*), and roasted 20 times in a covered crucible, is reduced to fine powder, which is to be used in medicines.² 44-45

(1) "Diamonds white like the conch, waterlily, or crystal are Brahmanas; those which are red like the eyes of the hare are Kshatriyas; those which are verdant like the cool plantain-leaf are Vaiśyas; those which resemble in colour the cleaned sword, are known as Sūdras." *Manimāla*, 1,100.

(2) One or two processes not mentioned by our author may be quoted from *Rasendrachintamanī* :—

GENERAL PROCESS OF REDUCING GEMS TO ASHES

All the gems with the exception of diamond are killed when roasted eight times with a mixture of realgar, sulphur, and orpiment, rubbed in the juice of *artocarpus lakoocha*. 63

Take asafetida, the five salts, the three alkalies, *rumex vesicarius*, sal ammoniac, the ripe fruit of the croton plant, *jalamukhi* (*anthericum tuberosum*), *rudanti* (*asclepias rosea*), the root of *plumbago zeylanica*, and the milky juice of *euphorbia antiquorum* and *calotropis gigantea*—rub all these together and make them into a ball. Place inside it the noble and luck-yielding gems. Wrap the ball with the leaves of *betula bhojpattra* and tie them with thread and enclose the ball again in a piece of cloth and suspend it in a *dolayantra* (see Bk. IX) filled with the acids and sour gruel and apply strong heat for three days and nights—the liquid principle of the gems is thus collected. 64-69

Powdered pearl is to be rubbed with the juice of *rumex vesicarius* and then transferred inside a lemon and stowed in a mass of paddy. At the end of a week it is heated in a crucible and liquefied.¹ 70-71

Diamond, placed inside the stem of *vitis quadrangularis*² and heated four weeks in acids, is liquefied. 72

Vaikrānta, which is of white colour, liquefies when macerated in the juice of *rumex vesicarius* and exposed to the sun for a week. 73

Take the juice of *pandanus odoratissimus*, rock-salt, *svarna*

“Take the root of *piper betle* or of the cotton plant (*Gossypium herbaceum*) three years old, and rub it into a paste and enclose the diamond in it and roast it in a covered crucible seven times, when the diamond will be killed.”

“An intelligent person should place in a brass vessel a frog which out of fright will pass water. A diamond is to be heated and plunged into this urine. This process being repeated several times, the diamond is killed.” This last recipe is also to be found in *Sarvagadhara*. Couplets (44-45) do not occur in the Benares Ms.

(1) Couplets 70, 71 and 72 do not occur in the Benares Ms.

(2) वज्रवल्ली according to “*Taidyakasabdasindhu*” is the same as अस्थिमंजाराक्षता i.e., *vitis quadrangularis*.

pushpika together with *coccinella* insect. *Vaikranta* melts on being digested in this concoction for a week. 74

BOOK V

ON METALS¹ (लोहानि)

The pure metals are : gold, silver, and iron. The *putilohas* (lit. metals emitting a foetid odour) are two : lead and tin. *Dhātu loham* is iron proper and often conveys different meanings. The alloys are three in number : brass, bell-metal and *vartaloḥa*. 1

GOLD

Gold is known to be of five kinds :—of which 3 are attributed to mythical and celestial origin ; the fourth is called *kshaniḥa* (lit. begot of mines) ; the 5th is obtained by the transmutation of the baser metals. See Bk. VIII. 80-83 2

Gold is to be purified and killed, as otherwise [if taken internally] it robs one of strength, virility and happiness and brings a series of maladies. 11

Gold-leaf of the weight of one *karsha* is to be smeared with salt and placed between two earthen saucers and heated on a charcoal fire for an hour and a half when its true colours will come out. 12

The best method of *killing* all the metals is with the aid of the ashes of mercury.² The next best is through the agency of the roots, whereas *killing* with sulphur is least to be recommended. 13

When a metal is *killed* with *ariloḥa* (meaning : not clear), it is injurious. Gold-leaves, pierced with holes and coated with a paste of lemon juice and the ashes of mercury and roasted ten times are thereby *killed*. 14

Project into melted gold its own weight of the ash of mercury ; [when cooled] powder it and rub it with lemon-juice and cinnabar and roast it in a covered crucible twelve times. The gold

(1) Loha (lit. iron) is often used in the wider sense of a metal.

(2) Generally sulphide of mercury (see p. 37).

thus acquires the colour of saffron.¹ (cf. *Rasārṇava* XVI. 81, p. 41) 15-16

Gold-leaf is killed by being rubbed with one-fourth of its own weight of *killed* mercury and acid of any kind and roasted eight times.² 17

SILVER

Silver is of 3 kinds : namely *sahajam* (of mythical origin), begotten of mines and artificial. 22

Silver melted with lead and borax undergoes purification..... Arrange on an earthen dish a mixture of lime and ashes in a circular row and place in it silver with its equal weight of lead. Now roast it over fire until the lead is consumed. Silver thus purified is to be used for medicinal proposes.³ (Cf. p. 38) 32-34

Silver-leaf is to be rubbed with mercury and the juice of *artocarpus lakoocha* and is to be embedded in sulphur and heated in a covered crucible over a sand bath ; when cold, the mass is once more rubbed with orpiment and acids and roasted 12 times. By this process, the silver is reduced to ashes. 35-37

Silver is reduced to ashes by being 3 times rubbed with powdered iron pyrites and lemon juice and roasted in a covered crucible. 38

Take 4 parts of silver-leaf and one of orpiment and rub them with the juice of lemon and roast the mixture and repeat the operation 14 times and thus silver is completely incinerated.⁴ 40-41

(1) This refers to the mistaken notion that the sublimate of factitious cinnabar (vermilion) contains gold.

(2) It will be seen that although *killing* with sulphur direct is not recommended, the gold is in reality converted into the sulphide and afterwards into metallic gold in a fine state of powder. See under "Killing of Metals."

(3) Cf. *Rasārṇava* : नागेन चारुसार्जन द्रावितं शुद्धिश्छति । "Silver is purified by being melted with lead and the ashes." The process is practically that of cupellation.

(4) We shall complete the account with an extract from *Rasendrasāra-saṃgraha* : "Silver-leaf is pierced with holes and smeared with twice its weight of cinnabar and subjected to distillation in the *Pātana Yantra* (see Bk. IX on apparatus). The mercury comes off and *killed* silver remains behind."

COPPER

There are two varieties of copper : the one brought from Nepal is of superior quality—that dug out of the mines of other countries is designated *Mlechchha*.¹ 44

Copper-leaf is killed by being rubbed with lemon-juice and sulphur and mercury and roasted thrice. 55

IRON

There are three kinds of iron : namely, *mundam* (wrought iron), *tikshnam* and *kāntam* ; *mundam* again is of 3 varieties : viz., *mridu*, *kuntham* and *kadāram*. 70

That which easily melts, does not break and is glossy is *mridu* ; that which expands with difficulty when struck with a hammer is known as *kuntham* ; that which breaks when struck with a hammer and has a black fracture is *kadāram*. 71-72

Tikshnam (properly cast-iron, steel) : there are 6 varieties of it. One variety is rough and free from hair-like lines and has a quicksilver-like fracture and breaks when bent. Another variety breaks with difficulty and presents a sharp edge. 75-78

Kāntam : there are 5 kinds of it namely, *bhrāmaka*, *chumbaka*, *karshaka*, *drāvaka* and *romakānta*. It possesses one, two, three, four and five faces and often many faces [with which to attract iron] and is of yellow, black and red colour respectively. The variety which makes all kinds of iron move about is called *bhrāmaka*, that which kisses iron is called *chumbaka*, that which attracts iron is called *karshaka*, that which at once melts the iron is called *drāvaka* (lit. a solvent) and the fifth kind is that which, when broken, shoots forth hair-like filaments. 84-89

Mercury is like an intoxicated elephant and *kāntam* is like the bent hook wherewith to restrain it. The wise man digs it out of the mines. That which has remained exposed to the sun and the atmosphere is to be avoided.² 92-93

If water is kept in a vessel and oil poured over it and the oil does not spread about ; if asafetida gives up its odour and decoction

(1) The generic term for a barbarian or a foreigner.

(2) Couplets 84—93 are taken bodily from *Rasārṇava*.

of *neem* (*Melia azadirachta*) its bitterness and milk, being *boiled* in it, does not overflow but rises high like a peak—if such be the characteristics of the vessel, know that it is made of *kānta* iron. 94

Powdered iron is to be macerated awhile in the decoction of the three myrobalans, in cow's urine and then to be mixed up with clarified butter and fried in an earthen vessel and stirred with an iron rod until a blade of straw thrown over it catches fire. The iron powder is to be pounded and the above process repeated five times.

Or iron is roasted four times in a covered crucible with the decoction of the myrobalans and is reduced to fine powder.¹

104-105

Leaves of *tikshna* iron are repeatedly to be heated and plunged into water and then to be powdered in a stone mortar with an iron pestle * * *. The powder of iron thus obtained is to be roasted twenty times in a covered crucible in combination with mercury and sulphur, and after each roasting the powder of iron is to be pounded as directed above—iron thus reduced to ashes is to be used in medicine. 107-110

Take one part of iron and twentieth part of its weight of cinnabar and rub them with lemon juice and sour gruel and roast the mixture in a covered crucible. This operation being repeated 40 times, *kāntam*, *tikshnam* and *mundam* are killed—of this there is no doubt. 113-114

Take of mercury one part, sulphur two parts and iron powder three parts and rub them with the juice of the Indian aloe and after 6 hours transfer the mass to a brass-vessel and cover it with the leaves of the castor-oil plant. At the end of an hour and a half the mass will become heated. It is then buried under a heap of paddy grains and taken out after three days and then powdered very fine and the contents passed through linen.²

(1) The process is practically the same as that of Chakrapāṇi, who ascribes it to Nāgārjuna.. (See p. 34.)

(2) *Rasendrasārasaṅgraha* has the same recipe with slight variations. According to it the powder is so fine that it "floats on water like a duck." Cf. below p. 66.

All the three varieties of iron are thus completely killed. Gold and other metals can be killed by this process after being reduced to fine powder like iron. 134-137

Rust of iron is to be heated and powdered till it is reduced to fine powder—this is called *mandura*.¹ 147

The qualities which reside in killed iron are also to be found in the rust of iron, hence the latter may be substituted for the treatment of diseases.² 148

TIN

Vangam (tin) is of two kinds—*kshurakan* and *misrakam* ; the former is endowed with superior qualities ; the latter cannot be recommended for medicinal uses. 153

Kshurakam is white, soft, cool (to the touch), readily fusible and bright and does not clink (when struck). 154

Misrakam is dirty white * * * This is an anthelmintic and a destroyer of the urinary disorders. 155

Molten tin is dropped into the juice of *Negundo vitex* mixed with turmeric ; the process being repeated 3 times, the metal undergoes purification. 154-156

Tinfoil is to be smeared with a paste of orpiment and the milky juice of *Calotropis gigantea* and then to be covered with the ashes of the bark of *Ficus religiosa* and *Tamarindus Indicus* and roasted and then reduced to ashes.³ 159

LEAD

Sisakam (lead) is readily fusible, very heavy, presents a black

(1) Analysis of "Mandura" : see Appendix II.

(2) This couplet also occurs in *Rasendrasārāsamgraha*.

(3) A few more recipes are given in all of which orpiment plays an important part ; the one quoted below from *Rasendrasārāsamgraha* will yield the "ash" of tin in the shape of an oxide : "Melt tin in an earthen pot and to the molten metal add an equal weight of powdered turmeric and Ajowan (*Ptychotis ajowan*) and cumin seeds, and afterwards the ashes of the bark of *Tamarindus Indicus* and *Ficus religiosa* and continue stirring over fire. The tin will be reduced to ashes."

and bright appearance on fracture, is of fætid odour¹ and black exterior. 171

Take of lead 20 *palas* and apply strong heat to it and drop into the molten metal one *karsa* of mercury and throw into it one after another the ashes of *Terminalia arjuna*, *T. bellerica*, pomegranate and *Achyranthes aspera*, weighing one *pala* each. The mass being vigorously stirred with an iron spoon for 20 nights in succession, the metal is calcined yielding a bright red ash.² 176-179

Leaves of lead are to be smeared with a paste of orpiment and the milky juice of *Calotropis gigantea* and roasted in a covered crucible till the metal is entirely killed. 184

BRASS, BELL-METAL, &C.

Pittala (brass) is of two kinds—*ritikas* and *kākatundi*; the former on being heated and plunged into sour gruel turns copper-coloured. 192-193

Brass, which is heavy, soft, of yellow colour, capable of resisting strokes, is to be recommended. 195

Brass, which is light and of offensive odour, is not good for medicinal purposes. 196

(1) Lead and brass (see below) are said to emit an offensive odour. In connection with this it is interesting to read Professor W. E. Ayrton's address "On the Smell of Metals"—Brit. Assoc. Rep. 1898, p. 772. Cf. also Alch. Syr. Trad., 121, as well as the opening lines of the present Book describing tin and lead "as metals of fætid odour." In the Syrian Alchemy "Silver is distinguished from tin by its absence of fætid odour"; regarding this M. Berthelot very pointedly remarks: "on voit que l'odeur propre que dégagent les métaux frottés avec la main, ou bien au contact d'une matière organique, jouait un rôle important dans leur étude chez les anciens auteurs; importance que cette odeur a perdue aujourd'hui.—La Chimie au moyen âge: T. ii. 121 trad).

(2) The following process is given both in the *Rasendrachintamani* and *Rasendrasarsamgraha*: "Rub lead with the juice of *Adhatoda vasica* and melt it in an earthen pot and add to it one fourth its weight of the ashes of *Adhatoda* and *achyranthes aspera* and stir the mass with a rod of *Adhatoda vasica* and heat over a fire. Repeat the process seven times. The lead will be turned to vermillion like powder."

Brass, smeared with a paste of lemon juice orpiment and sulphur and roasted 8 times, is reduced to ashes. The process of killing brass is the same as that of copper. 201-102

Kāmsya (bell-metal) is made by melting together 8 parts of copper and 2 parts of tin. 205

It is completely killed by being roasted 5 times with sulphur and orpiment. 210

Vartaloham is produced from *kāmsya*, copper, *pittala*, iron and lead ; hence it is regarded by metallurgists as an alloy of 5 metals.....It is killed with the aid of sulphur and orpiment. 212-216

BOOK VI

INITIATION INTO DISCIPLESHIP

[This chapter is full of directions for the mystic Tantric rites after the performance of which the pupil is to be initiated into the secrets of mercurial lore.]

The instructor must be wise, experienced, well-versed in chemical processes, devoted to *Śiva* and his consort *Pārvatī*, sober and patient. The pupil should be full of reverence for his teacher, well-behaved, truthful, hard-working, obedient, free from pride and conceit and strong in faith. 3-7

Chemical operations are to be performed under the auspices of a ruler, who is God-fearing, who worships *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* and whose territory is free from anarchy ; and the Laboratory, to be erected in the depth of a forest, should be spacious, furnished with 4 doors and adorned with the portraits of the Gods. 13-15

Take of gold-leaf 3 *niskas* in weight and quicksilver 9 *niskas* and rub them with acids for 3 hours. Make the amalgam into a *phallus* (emblem of *Śiva*, the creative principle).....the *phallus* to be worshipped in due form. By the mere sight of the *phallus* of mercury, the sins accumulated by the killing of 1,000 Brahmins and 10,000 cows are redeemed. 19-22

The science of mercury was communicated by *Śiva* himself

and is to be imparted by the instructor to the disciple according to the prescribed rules with closed eyes. 30

[Here follows an account of certain disgusting and obscene rites borrowed from *Rasārnava* and other *Tantric* works.]

The apparatus and implements as also the ingredients required for chemical operations (see next Book) are also to be addressed in prayer and the names of the 27 alchemists to be invoked. [See opening lines : Bk. 1, p. 42.] 53-61

The science of mercury is to be strictly kept a secret if it is divulged, its efficacy is gone. 70

BOOK VII

ON THE LABORATORY

The Laboratory is to be erected in a region, which abounds in medicinal herbs and wells it is to be furnished with the various apparatus. The *phallus* of mercury is to be placed in the east, furnaces to be arranged in the south-east, instruments in the south-west ; washing operations in the west ; drying in the north-west. The *koshā* apparatus for the extraction of essences, the water vessels, a pair of bellows and various other instruments are also to be collected as also the threshing and pounding mortars, the pestles, sieves of various degrees of fineness, earth for the crucibles, charcoal, dried cow-dung cakes, retorts made of glass, earth, iron and conch-shells,¹ iron-pans, &c. 1-18

Those who are truthful, free from temptations, given to the worship of Devas and Brahmanas, self-controlled and used to live upon proper diet and regimen—such are to be engaged in performing chemical operations. 30

Such herbalists as are not deceitful and are well-versed in the knowledge of the drugs and plants and in the language of many countries should be employed. 32

(1) Probably lime crucibles and retorts are meant.

BOOK VIII

ON TECHNICAL TERMS

For the comprehension of ignorant physicians, Somadeva¹ is now expounding the technicalities as made use of by experts. 1

The physician is entitled to half the share of prepared mercury and eighth part of medicated oils and *ghee* and seventh part of prepared iron and other metals. 2

Mercury, on being finely rubbed with melted sulphur and other minerals, attains the tint of collyrium and is called *kajjali* (see p. 34), which again on being rubbed with a liquid substance is known as *Rasapanka* (lit. mud of mercury). 5-6

TESTS FOR KILLED IRON

Killed iron is that which in the shape of impalpable powder floats on water and when rubbed between the thumb and the fore-finger enters the lines ; which, on being mixed with treacle, *abrus p.*, honey and *ghee* and heated, does not revert to the natural state ; which floats on water like a duck and does not sink down even when heavy things like paddy grains are placed over it. (Cf. *ante* p. 61, foot-note) 25-28

Killed iron (or in general a *killed* metal) is that which on being heated with silver does not mix (or alloy) with it.² 29

ANTIMONY FROM STIBNITE

Nīlanjana,³ mixed with *Tikshnam* (cast iron) and strongly heated several times, yields a superior kind of lead, which is readily fusible and is of mild black colour. 38

[Here follows a list of metaphorical expressions which are technically used.]

(1) The author evidently reproduces this chapter from a standard work on the subject by *Somadeva*, no longer extant.

(2) The Poona ed. has रौप्ये चक्षते *mixes with silver* ; but the Benares and the Kāmīr Mss. read रौप्ये न चक्षते *does not mix with silver*. The latter is no doubt the correct reading.

(3) Stibnite. A synonym for it is *Sourvīrāṇjana*. The "superior kind of lead" is evidently antimony.

CERTAIN OTHER TECHNICAL TERMS

The resurrection of the dead is known as *utthāpana* (lit. raising).¹

39

The capacity of mercury to swallow food [*i.e.* to combine with certain substances or to take up the qualities inherent in them] is known as *grāśamānam*.

64

Mercury, alloyed with one-sixty-fourth part of its weight of gold or silver, acquires a mouth wherewith to swallow even hard metals.

68-69

Lepa, *Kshepa* and *Kunta* signify *Dhūma* i. e. smoke. By the process of *Lepa* is meant the conversion of iron into gold or silver.

80

The conversion of iron into gold or silver with the aid of mercury thrown into a smoky flame, emitting vapor, is known as *Dhūmavedha* (lit. pierced by smoke).

83

The conversion of a small quantity of a metal into gold through the agency of mercury. which has acquired a mouth (see sloka 68), is called *sabavedha*.²

84

Somadeva collected these brilliant gems of technical terms with great care from the ocean of mercurial lore and strung them into a necklace which adorns the best of physicians in assemblies.

89

BOOK IX

ON APPARATUS (THE VANTRAS)³

Somadeva will now give a brief account of the apparatus after having consulted innumerable works on chemistry.⁴

1

(1) e. g., the conversion of *killed* iron into the metallic state.

(2) It is to be regretted that the details of the processes have been withheld. We have here sufficient indication of the belief in the transmutation of metals. The processes here mentioned are probably of the same nature as given in *Rasārṇava*.

(3) *Vide* illustrations : Appendix I.

(4) This chapter also is evidently quoted from the work of *Somadeva*, now unfortunately lost.

DOLA YANTRAM

Dolā yantram : a pot is half-filled with a liquid and a rod placed across its mouth from which is suspended the medicine tied in a piece of cloth. The liquid is allowed to boil and a second pot ¹ inverted over the first.

3-4

SVEDANI YANTRAM

Svedanī yantram : a pot with boiling water has its mouth covered with a piece of cloth and the substance to be steamed is placed on it and a second pot arranged in an inverted position over the rim of the first.

5

PATANA YANTRAM

Pātanā yantram [lit. apparatus for sublimation and distillation]: two vessels are adjusted so that the neck of the one fits into that of the other. The junction of the necks is luted with a composition made of lime, raw sugar, rust of iron and buffalo's milk. [Tedious details are given as to the exact measurement of the vessels.]

6-8

ADHASPATANA YANTRAM

Adhaspātana yantram : a modification of the above apparatus in which the bottom of the upper vessel is smeared with the substance, the vapour or essence thereof condensing into the water of the lower one. Heat is applied on the top of the upper vessel by means of the fire of dried cow-dung cakes.

9

DHEKI YANTRAM

Dhekī yantram : below the neck of the pot is a hole into which is introduced the upper end of a bamboo tube, the lower end of it fitting into a brass vessel filled with water and made of two hemispherical halves. Mercury mixed with the proper ingredients is subjected to distillation till the receiver gets sufficiently heated.

11-14

VALUKA YANTRAM (SAND BATH)

Vālukā yantram (sand bath) : a glass flask with a long neck,

(1) Unless otherwise stated earthen pots are meant.

containing mercurials, is wrapped with several folds of cloth smeared with clay and then dried in the sun. The flask is buried up to three-fourths of its length in sand and placed in an earthen pot whilst another pot is inverted over it, the rims of both being luted with clay. Heat is now applied till a straw placed on its top gets burnt.

34-36

LAVANA YANTRAM

If in the above apparatus salt is substituted for sand, it is called *lavana yantram* (salt-bath).

38

NALIKA YANTRAM

If in the above an iron tube be substituted for the glass flask, it is called *nālikā yantram*.

41

Place the crucible containing chemicals inside a mass of sand and apply heat by means of cow-dung cakes. This is known as the *Bhūdhara yantram*.

TIRYAKPATANA YANTRAM

Tiryakpātana yantram (lit. distillation *per descensum*): place the chemicals in a vessel provided with a long tube, inserted in an inclined position, which enters the interior of another vessel arranged as receiver. The mouths of the vessels and the joints should be luted with clay. Now urge a strong fire at the bottom of the vessel containing the chemicals, whilst in the other vessel place cold water. This (process) is known as *tiryakpātanam*.

48-50

VIDYADHARA YANTRAM

Vidyādhara yantram is for the extraction of mercury from cinnabar. [Two earthen pots are arranged as in the illustration. The upper one contains cold water and the mercury condenses at its bottom.]

57-58

DHŪPA YANTRAM

Dhūpa yantram (lit. fumigating apparatus): bars of iron are laid in a slanting position a little below the mouth of the lower vessel and gold-leaves are placed over them and at the bottom of the vessel is deposited a mixture of sulphur, realgar, orpiment,

etc. A second vessel, with its convexity turned upwards, covers the mouth of the lower one and the rims are luted with clay. Heat is now applied from below. This is called fumigation of gold-leaves. Silver may also be similarly treated. 70-74

[This chapter concludes with a detailed description of mortars and pestles—their sizes, measurements, &c.]

BOOK X

ON THE INGREDIENTS FOR CRUCIBLES, &c.

Earth which is heavy and of a pale colour, sugar or earth from an ant-hill, or earth which has been mixed with the burnt husks of paddy, fibres of the hemp plant, charcoal and horse-dung pounded in an iron mortar and also rust of iron are to be recommended for crucible-making. 5-6

VRIINTAKA CRUCIBLE

A crucible of the shape of the fruit of brinjal (*Solanum melong.*) to which is attached a tubulure, which is expanded towards its mouth like the flower of *Datura s.*, . . . and which is either 12 or 8 digits in length, is suitable for the extraction of the essence of calamine and other readily fusible minerals. 23-24

[The particular kind of crucible described here is the same as referred to in the extraction of zinc from calamine in the couplets 157-161, Bk. II.]

[Here follows a tedious account of the different kinds of crucibles to be used for different chemical operations.]

CALCINATION, ROASTING, &c.

When metals have undergone roasting they cannot be restored to their former condition (*i.e.* they lose their own properties) and they acquire superior qualities, fill up the lines in the fingers and do not sink in water. ¹ 51

A quadrangular pit 2 cubits in length, breadth and depth respectively is filled with 1,000 cow-dung cakes. The drugs to be

(1). Cf. VIII. 25-28 ; also *ibid.* 39, pp. 66-67.

roasted are placed in one crucible ; this is covered with a second, the rims being luted with clay. The crucibles are deposited over the cow-dung cakes and 500 more thrown over them : fire is now applied. 54-55

[The description given above is that of a typical roasting pit. The size of the pit, as also the number of cow-dung cakes often varies according to requirements. It is unnecessary to reproduce the *minutiæ*.]

THE METALS

The six metals are : gold, silver, copper, tin, lead and iron. *Kāmsya* and *Pittala* (see pp. 63-64) are artificially made [i. e. alloys]. 70

THE SALTS

The six salts are : *Sāmudram* (lit. derived from the evaporation of sea-water) ; *Saindhava* (or rock-salt) ; *Vidam*, *Sauvarchala*, *Romaka* and *Chulikā lavana*.¹

THE ALKALIES

The 3 alkalies are : carbonate of potash, carbonate of soda (trona or natron) and borax. 71

THE OILS

[A list of plants is given from the seeds of which oil is expressed.] 73-75

THE FATS

The fats of the jackal, the frog, the tortoise, the crab, the dolphin, the ox, the pig, man and also of the goat, the camel, the ass, the sheep and the buffalo are to be used. 76-77

THE URINES

The urines of the elephant, the she-buffalo, the ass and the horse are to be used. (Cf. *ante* p. 16) 78

THE ACIDS

The acids are : *rumex vesicarius*, the citrons and lemons, *oxalis*

(1) A syn. for *Narasāra* (Sal ammoniac), see p. 53

corniculata, tamarind, the acid exudation of *cicer arietinum*, *zizyphus jujuba*, pomegranate, *averrhoa carambola*—these are the acids well suited for the purification, dissolution and killing of mercury and the minerals.¹ 80-84

THE EARTHS

Brick, red ochre, saline deposits, ashes, earth from ant-hills—these 5 kinds of earth are recommended by the experts. 85

THE POISONS

Kālakūta, *aconite ferox*, *sringika* and the biles of animals are the chief poisons. 86

The minor poisons are :—*gloriosa superba*, *strychnos nux vomica*, *nerium odorum*, *anacardium semicarpus*, *datura stramonium*, *calotropis gigantea*.² 88

THE SOLVENTS

Treacle, *bdellium*, *abrus precatorious*, clarified butter, honey, borax—these are used for helping the fusion of the most infusible metals and hence they are classed among the solvents. 100

BOOK XI

ON THE PURIFICATION OF MERCURY

I am now going to describe briefly the various processes for the purification of mercury after having consulted *Rasārṇava* and other works. 10

There are 3 natural impurities in quicksilver, *viṣa* (poison), *vanhi* (fire) and *mala* (dirt, dregs) and two artificial, due to its being alloyed with lead and tin.³ 14-15

(1) See under Mineral Acids.

(2) The information on the poisons is most elaborate in *Susruta* from whom our author evidently borrows the classification as given later on in Bk. XV; namely : स्यावरः, जङ्गमः, कृत्रिमः or vegetable, animal and artificial poison. It is worthy of note that opium is not included among the minor poisons.

(3) Cf. *Rasendrachintāmaṇi* :

मिश्रितौ चतुर्से नागवङ्गौ विक्रयर्हतुना ।

ताभ्यां स्यात् कृत्रिमदीपः तन्मुक्तिः पातनवशात् ॥

“Trades-people fraudulently adulterate quicksilver with lead and tin, hence it is to be freed from these artificial defects [impurities] by means of three distillations” as given above under *Tiryakpātana* p. 69).

Hence for the purification of mercury the operations (named below) are to be undertaken with the aid of appliances and skilled assistants. 20

In an auspicious day and under the influence of a benign star a quantity of mercury weighing 2,000 or 1,000 or 100 or 18 or 10 *palas* is to be taken and the operation begun. 21-22

[It is useless to enter into the details of the several processes described here ; they are more or less repetitions of what has already been given.]

Pātanaśāstrī : [purification of mercury by distillation as described in the foot note p. 72]. 33

FIXATION OF MERCURY

Rasavandha : processes for destroying the fluidity of mercury :

Take mercury and one-fourth its weight of *killed* gold and with the addition of sulphur make a ball. Now add an equal weight of sulphur and roast the mass in a covered crucible. ¹ 72

The mercury thus treated is afterwards killed with six times its weight of sulphur. ² 73

INCINERATION OF MERCURY

[The chapter concludes with certain recipes for the killing of mercury, with the aid of *purely* vegetable products.]

Mercury, roasted in a covered crucible with asafœtida, which has been previously digested in the milky juice of *figus oppositifolia*, is reduced to ashes. ³ 111

(1) In other works a glass retort is recommended.

(2) The shining reddish brown crystalline sublimate of sulphide of mercury thus obtained is a favourite and frequently-used remedy with the Hindu physicians. It is reputed to be a panacea for a variety of ills that flesh is heir to. In the *Rasendrachintāmaṇi*, *Rasendrasārasaṅgraha* and other treatises, this preparation is described as *Makaradhvaja* and *Rasasindura* (lit. minium-like mercury). From the supposed presence of gold it is often named *Svarnasindura* (lit. gold and vermilion). During sublimation the gold of course is left behind. The general belief is that by association with gold the mercury acquires most potent efficacy. A later work, *Rasapradīpa*, is sceptical about the part which gold plays and recommends its being left out.

(3) Śārngadhara also gives a similar recipe.

Andropogon serratus and *Clitoria ternatea* are to be pounded in a mortar with sour gruel and with the paste thus formed, mercury is to be triturated and digested 7 times and finally roasted in a covered crucible after addition of fresh quantities of the above paste. The mercury is reduced to ashes, resembling salt.

112-113

The seeds of *Achyranthes aspera* and *Ricinus communis* are to be pounded together. The mercury is to be placed inside the powder and the mass roasted as before. The mercury is reduced to ashes.¹

114

Purified mercury is to be preserved in the hollow of a horn or tooth or of bamboo.

119

* * * *

Here ends chapter XI of *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, which treats of the purification, fixation and incineration of mercury.

Notes on the Minerals

Mr. T. H. Holland, F. G. S., A. R. S. M., of the Geological Survey of India, to whom was submitted the translation of the descriptions of the minerals (*vide* pp. 43-58), has favoured me with his opinion, which is reproduced below in his own words. It will, to a certain extent, help in the identification of the minerals.

"I have appended notes giving suggestions which may help to explain some of the passages, but the majority of descriptions are altogether too vague to permit identification of the minerals. The names of minerals already given are presumably recognised translations; for the descriptions accompanying the names might just as well, in many instances, apply to several minerals known in this country.

(1) Cf. *Rasendrachintāmani*, which evidently quotes from a Tantric work: "O Goddess, I shall now enumerate the substances which *kill* mercury, without the use of sulphur." A list of 41 plants is given of which any ten may be employed at a time for the roasting operation. The names of the following among others occur in the list: *vitis quadrangularis*, *andropogon serratus*, *plumbago zeylanica*, *clitoria ternatea*, milky juice of *calatropis gigantea* and of *euphorbia nerifolia*; *vitex negundo*, *datura stramonium*, *achyranthes aspera*, *figus oppositifolia* and *linosyris cordifolia*.

"Vaikranta has 8 faces and 6 angles" &c. (p. 45) possibly refers to a mineral crystallizing in the octahedral form, and of the many minerals crystallising in this form the family of spinels is more likely to exhibit the great range of colours given.

"White"—Unknown.

"Red"—Ruby spinel.

"Yellow"—Rubicelle (orange to yellow); dysluite (yellowish brown).

"Blue"—Almandine (violet).

"Grass-green"—chlorospinel, hercynite (black when massive, green by transmitted light and in powder), pleonaste (dark-green);

"black"—magnetite, gahnite, franklinite &c.;

"variegated"—some magnesia spinels;

"8 Faces and 6 angles" might possibly also refer to the hexagonal prism with basal planes, a common form of corundum, which gives the variety of colours referred to even more perfectly than the spinels.

But the remarks on pp. 57-58 as to the "liquefaction" of this mineral cannot apply to either spinel or corundum. Unless there is some failure to appreciate the original meaning the statements are nonsensical.

"*Mākshikam* (pyrites) Pyrites is of two kinds—golden and silvery; the former is a native of Kanauj, and is of golden yellow colour. The silvery pyrites is associated with stones and is of inferior quality."

"*Mākshika* repeatedly steeped in [organic substances] and gently roasted in a crucible yields an essence of the appearance [in the shape] of copper" (p. 46).

Iron pyrites (Fe S_2) is brass-yellow in colour, and its dimorphous form marcasite is pale bronze-yellow; but there are other pyrite-like minerals which are silvery white; for instance, cobaltite (Co S_2 , Co As_2), smaltite (Co As_2), löllingite (Fe As_2 with S) and leucopyrite ($\text{Fe}_3 \text{As}_4$). Iron pyrites roasted in air would give a red residue of $\text{Fe}_2 \text{O}_3$. But it seems more likely that the "golden-yellow" variety is copper-pyrite, which has a deep yellow colour and besides which iron-pyrite when freshly fractured would appear almost silvery in colour. In that case

the "essence of the appearance of copper" might be the metal itself.¹

"*Saṣṭaka* (blue vitriol) has the play of colours in the throat of the peacock." (p. 47)

The experiments referred to might apply to any copper compound. There is a copper ore, bornite or erubescite (Cu_3FeS_3), which, on account of its peculiar colour and iridescence, is known as "peacock" ore. It occurs in several parts of India.

Gairika: hematite which is red and often hard, and limonite which is yellow or brown, both occur in the form of ochres.

"*Kamkushtham* is produced at the foot of the Himālayas . . . it is of white and yellow colour and is a strong purgative."

Possibly an efflorescence of magnesium sulphate or sodium sulphate; both are not uncommon. The yellow colour might be due to admixture with ferruginous dirt due to oxidation of the ferrous sulphate produced by similar causes with the other sulphates.

Vajram: the remarks "8 faces and 6 corners" would be correct for an octahedral crystal of diamond; but I know of no crystal form which has at the same time "8 angles." The faces of the diamond are frequently rounded, which may account for the statements about the "female" and "neuter" diamonds. Many transparent minerals give a play of colours through either schillerization or refraction; but the diamond is of course particularly noticeable on account of its high dispersive power."

The following extracts from Ball's "Economic Geology of India" will also throw considerable light on this subject. It will be seen how in India the traditions of the technical arts of which we get vivid glimpses in the *Rasārṇava* has been preserved even to our own days from time immemorial.

"Rajputana—Copper ores are found in several of the independent States of Rajputana, and also in the British district of Ajmir. Mining has been practised on a large scale, but at present the trade of miner is becoming extinct and the operations, which are only carried on in a few of the localities, are of a very petty nature.

1. *Vimala* (p. 47) would appear also to be a variety of pyrites.

“The names of the States in which there are mines are as follows : Alwar, Bhartpur, Jaipur, Udepur, Bundi, and Bikanir.

“Alwar State.—According to Mr. Hacket there are ancient copper mines at the following localities in this state : Daribo, Indawas, Bhangarh, Kusalgarh, Beghani, Pratabgarh, Tassing, and Jasingpura. The most important of this is the first.

“Deribo.—The mine is situated on a sharp anticlinal bend in a thin band of black slates intercalated in the Alwar quartzites. There appears to be no true lode ; the one, which is pyrites mixed with arsenical iron, occurs irregularly disseminated through the black slates, a few specks and stains only being seen in the quartzites ; occasionally rich nests of ore were met with..... From an interesting account by Major Cadell, the following facts regarding the manufacture have been extracted. The ore, as usual in the native process, is pounded, made up into balls with cow-dung, roasted, and then smelted in a closed furnace and refined in an open charcoal fire. Thirty pounds of ore require four times that quantity of charcoal and yield $5\frac{1}{2}$ pounds of metal, or 16.6 per cent. During the last 12 years the average annual output has been only 3 tons 8 cwts., and it is diminishing owing to the influx of European copper.

“Singhana (Jaipur State).—The copper mines at Singhana are situated in rocks belonging to the Arvali series. The earliest account of these mines, which is believed to have been by Captain Boileau, was published in the year 1831. The principal productions were copper, blue vitriol or copper sulphate, alum, and an ore of cobalt called *sehta* or *saita*.

“The mines are described as being tortuous and of great extent ; at the working faces it was the custom to light fires which caused the rock to split up. Lamps were used which the miners carried on their heads and with a gad and hammer extracted the ore. The principal ore found appears to have been pyrites. It was sold retail by auction to the proprietors of different furnaces.

“The pounding or crushing was effected on a stone anvil with a hammer weighing eight or ten seers ; when completely reduced to powder the ore was made up into balls with cow-dung and roasted. The blast furnaces (*vide illustrations*) were prepared in

the following manner. A quantity of common sand was spread on the floor of a circular hut, in the centre of which a depression, 12 to 15 inches in diameter and 2 or 3 inches deep, was made ; in this a layer of fine sand and another of ashes were laid to prevent the metal from adhering to the bottom of the receiver ; two clay nozzles or tuyères were then placed on opposite sides of this hollow, and a third between them, leaving the fourth side vacant for the slag to escape. The nozzles were then connected by moist clay and a circular rim of mud, a few inches in height, was raised, on which three annular vessels of fire-clay were placed to form the body of the furnace, each of these was 15 inches in external diameter, 10 inches high, and 3 inches thick. They were used repeatedly, but the lower part of the furnace had to be reconstructed for every charge. The bellows were simply goat-skins connected with the nozzles, and were worked by the families of the smelters. After a preliminary firing, to dry the mud, the furnace was charged with charcoal, roasted ore, and iron slag, the latter being employed as a flux.

"In a day of nine or ten hours' duration, 3 maunds of charcoal, $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the roasted ore, and 2 of the iron slag were consumed. The slag was drawn off and the smelted copper which had accumulated at the bottom of the furnace was removed on the following day. It was then re-melted and refined in an open furnace under a strong blast from bellows, and cast into small bars or ingots, which were subsequently removed to the Mint and cut up and fashioned into coins.

"The ore was said to yield only from to $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of metal, but the profits must have been not inconsiderable as the Khetri Raja is said to have claimed one-sixth of the value of the copper in addition to Rs. 14,000 received for the lease. The quality of the metal is said to have been inferior to that of Basawar, this being attributed to the use of the iron slag as a flux.....
 .. .Considerable quantities of blue vitriol (copper sulphate), alum, and copperas (iron sulphate) are manufactured from the decomposed slate and refuse of the mines. The slates are steeped in water, which is afterwards evaporated in large iron vessels, when the blue vitriol is crystallized out, afterwards the

alum, and lastly the copperas. Mr. Mallet found traces of nickel and cobalt in all three of these substances.

"Copper smelting in the Singhbhum District (Bengal).—Indications exist of mining and smelting having been carried on in this region from a very early period, and the evidence available, points to the Seraks or lay Jains as being the persons who, perhaps 2,000 years ago, initiated the mining.¹ The number and extent of the ancient workings testify to the assiduity with which every sign of the presence of ore was exploited by these early pioneers and those who followed them up to recent times."

The Treatise on Alchemy attributed to Bubacar (10th to 11th century A. D.) also contains many similar descriptions of the gems and minerals; specially noticeable is the classification according to sex—*male* and *female* (cf. Bk. IV, 27-28, p. 55). We append below one or two short extracts.

"Viennent ensuite les treize genres de pierres, savoir: les marcassites, les magnésies, les tuties, l'azur (lapis lazuli ou cina-bre?), l'hématite, le gypse, etc., et toute une suite de minéraux désignés sous des noms arabes. Parmi les marcassites (sulfures), on distingue la blanche, pareille à l'argent; la rouge ou cuivrée; la noire, couleur de fer; la dorée, etc.

"Les magnésies² sont aussi de différente couleur, l'une noire, dont la cassure est cristalline³, une autre ferrugineuse, etc. Une variété est dite mâle; une autre, avec des yeux brillants, est appelée femelle; c' est la meilleure de toutes.

"Les tuties⁴ sont de différentes couleurs: verte, jaune, blanche, etc."

"La classe des vitriols (*atramenta*) comprend six espèces: celui qui sert à faire du noir, le blanc, le calcantum, le calcande, le calcathar, et le surianum. Il y en a un jaune, employé par les orfèvres; un vert mêlé de terre, employé par les mégissiers, etc." —La Chimie au moyen âge, T. I., 307.

(1) *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal*, June 1869, p. 170.

(2) Ce mot désignait certains sulfures et oxydes métalliques, tels que les oxydes de fer magnétique, le bioxyde de manganèse, etc.

(3) Offre des yeux brillants.

(4) Oxydes et minerais de zinc, renfermant du cuivre.

ALUM AND GREEN VITRIOL

Dutt speaking of alum states : "it is not mentioned by Susruta, in his list of metallics, but later writers give its synonyms and uses". This is evidently incorrect. Alum, with green vitriol, is distinctly referred to in the Susruta, *c. g.* :

काशीसं विवृता दन्तौ हरितालं सुराष्ट्रजा ।

Sūtra. XXXVI, 12.

In the above sloka *surāshtrajā*, lit., begot of Surāshtra (modern Surat), is used in the sense of alum. From the ancient times the "earth of Surat" has been known to yield this mineral. Amara-Simha in his Lexicon, written sometime between 400—600 A. D.,¹ gives among others the following synonyms of alum :—*kāmkshī*, *tūcarī*, and *surastraja*. *Rasaratnasamuchchya* also gives the same synonyms. (Bk. III., 59—62). The manufacture of alum survives to our own days, as the following description will show :

"Alum shales, so called, are of rare occurrence in peninsular India, and, so far as is known, the only considerable native manufacture is situated in Rajputana ; but as will be gathered from what follows, the tertiary rocks of the extra-peninsular regions often contain such shales.

"In two localities lumps of alum...occur naturally in sufficient abundance to be a regular article of export.

"Alum is principally used as a mordant in dyeing, but as a drug its employment is extensive in India.

"BEHAR.—Captain Sherwill in 1846² stated that a small quantity of alum was manufactured from slates obtained in the district of Shahabad ; these rocks, it is believed, belonged to the Bijigarh pyritous shales of the Kaimur group of the Vindhyan series.

"The alum was sold at the high price of one rupee per *tola* ; it was identical with the *salajit* of Nepal. Copperas or iron sulphate is obtained in the same region, which is situated to the north of Rotasgarh, and to the west of the Sone.

"Rajputana, Khetri, and Singhana.—In connection with the copper mines at the above localities there are manufactories

1. The lowermost limit of his age may be taken about 948 A. D. as made out from an inscription in Budh Gaya.

(2) *Journ. As. Soc. AT.*, p. 58.

which turn out considerable quantities of blue vitriol (copper sulphate), copperas (iron sulphate), and alum. The process has been very fully described and illustrated by Colonel Brooke. In 1864 there were twenty of these factories at Khetri and about double the number at Singhana. The broken shale from the mine which contains the salts is placed in earthen *gharas*, together with the crusts from the refuse heaps of previous lixiviations and water is added. The *gharas* are arranged on ledges prepared for the purpose on the heaps of refuse, as will be seen by reference to the wood-cut (*vide illustrations*).

"Each charge of shale is exposed to three changes of water and the water itself is changed from one *ghara* to another till it has taken up the sulphates from seven different steepings. It is then of a thick dirty-bluish colour and is taken to the boiling house, where it is boiled in earthen *gharas*; when sufficiently concentrated it is left to cool, and thin sticks being introduced the blue vitriol crystallizes on them. The mother liquor is then poured off and again boiled, and on the addition of saltpetre, the alum crystallizes at the bottom of the vessel. The residual sulphates still in solution are allowed to crystallize out by exposing the mixture to the sun.

* * * * *

"CUTCH.—There are numerous accounts of the manufacture of alum in Cutch. The earliest is by Captain Mc Murdo, who states that before 1818 the export of alum amounted in some years to several hundred thousand maunds, which chiefly went to Guzerat and Bombay to be employed in dyeing. The following account by Mr. Wynne is the most recent and complete. The site of the operations is at Mhurr or Madh.

"The rock containing the materials is a pyritous dark-gray or black shale, which is in close association with a soft aluminous pseudo-breccia of the sub-nummulitic group.

"This shale is excavated from pits and is exposed for four months, a slow combustion taking place owing to the decomposition of the pyrites.

"It is then spread in squares resembling salt pans and sprinkled with water. After about 12 days it consolidates into efflorescing mammillated crystalline plates or crusts called *phitkari*.

ka bij or seed of alum. These crusts are boiled in large iron vessels (luted inside with lime), together with saltpetre (or other potash salt), in the proportion of 15 of 'alum seed' to 6 of the latter; when it has settled, the liquor is placed in small earthen vessels somewhat the shape of flower-pots, and crystallization takes place in three days. These crystals are again boiled one or more times to concentrate the solution, which is finally ladled into large thin bladder-shaped earthen *mutkas* or *gharas* with small mouth; these are sunk into the ground to prevent their breaking, and in five days the alum is found crystallized in masses. The vessels are then broken and the alum is stored.

"Alum is also manufactured from the water of a hot spring north of Mhurr. The impure salt-petre, which is employed to supply the second base in the above-mentioned manner, is obtained by lixiviation of village refuse." (Ball's Economic Geology, pp. 431-33)

"IRON SULPHATE.—The green vitriol or copperas of commerce, which is known to the natives as *kahi* and *hara kasis*, is produced principally from the so-called alum shales from which alum is prepared. As is the case also with alum, copper as is found sometimes as a natural exudation upon alum shales and other rocks which include iron pyrites.

"This native copperas goes by several different names in India, according to the nature of the other substances with which it is combined.

"BEHAR.—In the year 1833, Mr. J. Stevenson published an analysis of native sulphate of iron obtained from Behar, which was at that time used by the native dyers of Patna.

He found that it consisted of—

Iron sulphate	...	...	...	39'0
" peroxide	...	...	...	36'0
Magnesia ...	...	...	...	23'0
Loss	...	...	...	2'0

ibid p. 419.

100'0

ON METALS AND METALLURGY

In the Vedic Period gold and silver were not only known but were worked into ornaments of various descriptions. Gold was often called by the name “yellow” and silver by the name “white.” The warriors of old were protected with coats of mail and helmets of metal. *Loha* was a term applied to the metals in general though in later ages it came to stand for iron alone. In the Vedic literature iron proper seems to be designated by *krishnāyas* or the black metal and copper by *lohītāyas* or the red metal. ¹

Besides gold and silver, several other metals, e.g. iron, lead and tin, are mentioned in the White Yajurveda : द्विरण्यं च मे, अयय मे, श्यामं च मे, लोहं च मे, सीसं च मे, तपु च मे यज्ञेन कल्पन्ताम् । XVIII. 13

In the Chhândogya Upanishad IV, 17,7. we also read : “as one binds gold by means of *lavana* (borax), and silver by means of gold, and tin by means of silver, and lead by means of tin, and iron by means of lead, and wood by means of iron, and also by means of leather.” लवणेन सुवर्णं संदध्यात्, सुवर्णेन रजतं, रजतेन तपु, तपुणा सीसं, सीसेन लोहं, लोहेन दारु, दारु चर्मणा ।

Unfortunately very little material is now available to enable us to present a connected narrative of the metallurgical skill of the ancient Hindus. Many important links are missing ; we shall here try to put together only a few, which we have been able to recover.

Megasthenes says that the Indians were “well skilled in the arts.” According to the Greek writer, the soil too has “underground

(1) हरिते त्रीणि रजते त्रीण्ययमि त्रीणि तपसाविष्टितानि । AV. 5, 28, 1. Here “हरित” (yellow) is explained by Sāyana as equivalent to gold. श्याममथोऽयं सांसानि लोहितमथ लोहितम् । AV. 11, 3, 7. Here according to Sāyana श्याममथः = black metal i.e. iron and लोहितमथः = red metal i.e. copper. The Susruta also differentiates iron by the term *krishnaloha* (black metal), though copper is known by its proper name *tāmra*.

numerous veins of all sorts of metals, for it contains much gold and silver, and copper and iron in no small quantity and even tin and other metals, which are employed in making articles of use and ornament, as well as the implements and accoutrements of war."

Coming to comparatively later times, we find that the Indians were noted for their skill in the tempering of steel. The blades of Damascus were held in high esteem but it was from India that the Persians and, through them, the Arabs learnt the secret of the operation.¹

The wrought-iron pillar close to the Kutub near Delhi which weighs ten tons and is some 1500 years old; the huge iron girders at Puri; the ornamental gates of Somnath and the 24-ft wrought-iron gun at Nurvar—are monuments of a bye-gone art and bear silent but eloquent testimony to the marvellous metallurgical skill attained by the Hindus. Regarding the Kutab pillar, Fergusson says: "It has not, however, been yet correctly ascertained what its age really is. There is an inscription upon it, but without a date. From the form of its alphabet, Prinsep ascribed it to the 3rd or 4th century; Bhau Daji, on the same evidence, to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 6th century. The truth probably lies between the two. Our own conviction is that it belongs to one of the Chandra Rajas of the Gupta dynasty, either subsequently to A. D. 363 or A. D. 400.

"Taking A.D. 400 as a mean date—and it certainly is not far from the truth—it opens our eye to an unsuspected state of affairs to find the Hindus at that age capable of forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now. As we find them, however, a few centuries afterwards using bars as long as this *lat* in roofing the porch of the temple at Kanaruc, we must now believe that they were much more familiar with the use of this metal than they afterwards became. It is almost equally startling to find that,

(1) *Ville Trempe du Fer Indien*: Elle a été découverte par les Indiens et exposée par les Perses, et c'est de ceux-ci qu'elle nous est venue."—Berthelot: Coll. Alch. Grec., T. 3, trad. p. 332.

after an exposure to wind and rain for fourteen centuries, it is un-rusted, and the capital and inscription are as clear and as sharp now as when put up fourteen centuries ago.

"There is no mistake about the pillar being of pure iron. Gen. Cunningham had a bit of it analysed in India by Dr. Murray, and another portion was analysed in the School of Mines here by Dr. Percy. Both found it pure malleable iron without any alloy." Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture, p. 508; ed. 1899.

The Ritter Cecil von Schwarz, who was for sometime in charge of the Bengal Iron Works Company, thus speaks of the superior iron smelting industry in India:—

"It is well-known by every manufacture of crucible cast-steel how difficult it is sometimes to get the exact degree of hardness to suit certain purposes, especially with reference to steel for cutting the blades, etc. With the ordinary process endeavours are made to reach the required degree of hardness by selecting such raw materials as on an average have the required contents of carbon in order to correspond with the required degree of hardness as far as possible. The natives [of India] reached this degree by introducing into their cast-steel an excess of carbon, by taking this excess gradually away afterwards, by means of the slow tempering process, having it thus completely in their power to attain the exact degree by interrupting this de-carbonising process exactly at the proper time in order to cast steel of a quality exactly suitable for the purpose."

ZINC

The extraction of zinc from the ores can be followed in every detail from the account left us both in *Rāsarnava* and *Rasarat-nasamuchchaya*.

Rasaka is mentioned in *Rasārṇava* as the mineral which turns copper into gold (p. 39). We have also in the succeeding couplets a process described for the reduction of the ore. This process is so elaborately given in R. R. S. that it may be quoted almost *verbatim* in any treatise on modern chemistry; it is practically the same as distillation *per descensum*—the flame of bluish tint issuing from the mouth of the crucible indicates the

combustion of carbon monoxide, so often observed in metallurgical operations. ¹ (See pp. 48-49)

From the time of the Susruta to that of R. R. S. we find all along six metals recognised (see pp. 26 and 71) and the last work distinctly says brass and bell-metal to be simply alloys. Owing to the veneration paid to ancient authorities, the Indian alchemists had at first some hesitation in classing "the essence of the lustre of tin "वद्भाभम्" (p. 39) as a separate metal. In the medical Lexicon ascribed to king Madanapāla and written about the year 1374 A. D., ² zinc is, however, distinctly recognised as a metal under the designation of *Jasada*. ³

It is evident *rasaka* is the *cadmia* of Dioscorides and Pliny and *tutia* of the alchemists of the middle ages. The pseudo-Basil Valentine writing about 1600 A. D. uses the word zinc but "he does not appear to have classed it with the metals proper." Paracelsus mentions zinc sometimes as a metal and sometimes as a *bastard* or *semi-metal*, but it is doubtful whether he had any distinct notion of its true character specially as he says, "it has no malleability" (keine malleabilität hat er) or of the ore which yielded it. ⁴ "Libavius was the first to investigate the properties of zinc more exactly, although he was not aware that the metal was derived from the ore known as *calamine*. He states that a peculiar kind of tin is found in the East Indies called *Calaëm*. Some of this was brought to Holland and came into his hands." (Roscoe and Schorlemmer).

The terms *rasaka*, *kharpara*, *kharpara-tuttha* and *tuttha* are all applied to calamine, while *tuttha* sometimes stands for blue vitriol as well. Some writers have however, mistaken *kharpara*

(1) Cf. "A mixture of 2 parts of ground roasted ore and 1 part of coal dust is brought into the retorts, each holding about 40 lbs. of the mixture. As soon as the temperature has risen high enough, the reduction begins and *carbon monoxide is evolved and burns* from the end of the clay adapter *with a blue flame* (the italics are ours). Roscoe and Schorlemmer's Chemistry, Vol. II., Pt. 1, p. 255, ed. 1879.

(2) Roth : Indischen Studien, XIV, 399 ; also Bühler : Intro. to Manu, CXXV.

(3) जसदे रङ्गसङ्गं दितिहृत्य तन्मत् ।

(4) Gesch. d. Chemie, IV, 116.

for blue vitriol, but R. R. S. is very explicit on this point. The name *tutenague* by which Chinese zinc was known in commerce is evidently derived from the Tamil *tatanagam*. "In Persian, sulphate of zinc is called *suffed* (white) *tutia* ; sulphate of copper, *necla* (blue) *tutia* ; and sulphate of iron, *hura* (green) *tutia* ; so, in Avicenna, different kinds are described under this name, which occurs also in Geber" (Royle). Both the Tamil *tatanagam* and the Persian *tutia* are probably corruptions of the Sanskrit word *tuttham*. At the beginning of the last century the Baron de Sacy was at considerable pains in tracing the history of *tutia*. In a note appended to certain extracts from Kazwini, the "oriental Pliny," the learned Frenchman gives the following description of *tutia*. The account necessarily involves some digressions on the Aristotelian theory of the formation of dew, hailstone, metals, &c., and the reader may with advantage compare it with that of the Vaiseshika Philosophy. (Chap. 1, pp. 1-5)

"Le *khar-sini* est aussi nommé *fer de la Chine* et *or cru* Je crois que ce même métal est aussi désigné sous les noms de *djosd* ou *djost* dans l'Inde, de *tutie fossile*.....chez les Arabes, enfin d'*esprit de tutie*..... dans l'*Ayin Achéri*, et que c'est la *toutenague*, dont il y a plusieurs variétés plus ou moins analogues au zinc.

"Je vais rapporter, pour mettre le lecteur à portée de juger de ma conjecture, ce que je trouve dans le Dictionnaire des médicaments simples par Ebn-Beitar, sur les diverses espèces de tutie fossile, et un article curieux de l'*Ayin Achéri*, omis pour la très-grande partie dans la traduction anglaise de M. Gladwin ; j'en donnerai le texte d'après deux manuscrits de cet ouvrage, dont l'un m'appartient, et l'autre faisoit autrefois partie de la bibliothèque de feu M. Langlès, et d'après le Traité de médecine, dédié au prince Dara-schékouh, où il se trouve tout entier (manuscrit de M. Brueix, acquis par la bibliothèque du Roi, n. 16, fol. 62 et suiv.). Je joindrai à cela ce que dit Kazwini de la formation du *khar-sini* et de ses usages médicaux et économiques, laissant aux minéralogistes à juger si, dans ces descriptions mêlées d'hypothèses arbitraires, et de quelques traits suspects de charlatanisme, on peut reconnoître la toutenague.

"Voici d'abord le passage d'Ebn-Beitar.

"Edu-Wafid dit : il y a deux espèces de tuties ; l'une se trouve dans les mines, l'autre dans les fourneaux où l'on fond le cuivre, comme la *cadmie* ; cette dernière espèce est ce que les Grecs nomment *pompholyx*. Quant à la tutie fossile, il y en a trois variétés ; l'une blanche, l'autre verdâtre, la dernière d'un jaune fortement rougeâtre. Les mines de celle-ci sont dans les contrées maritimes de la mer de Hind et de Sind : la meilleure est celle qui semble au coup-d'œil couverte de sel ; après celle-ci, la jaune ; quant à la blanche, elle a quelque chose de graveleux..... : et est percée : on l'apporte de la Chine. La tutie blanche est la plus fine de toutes les variétés, et la verte, la plus grossière ; quant à la tutie des fourneaux, Dioscoride dit, livre V.e : *Le pompholyx, qui est la tutie, diffère du spodion &c.*"

"L'*Ajrin Achéri* expose la formation des minéraux et celle des métaux en particulier, suivant une hypothèse, commune, je crois, à tous les alchimistes anciens ; et quoique ces détails méritent par eux-mêmes peu d'attention, je rapporterai le passage en entier, 1. parce que M. Gladwin l'a omis ; 2. parce qu'il est nécessaire pour que l'on puisse juger de la nature du *khar-sini*, et de l'identité que je suppose entre cette substance métallique et l'*esprit de tutie*. Il y a dans le texte de l'*Ajrin Achéri* quelques omissions que je rétablirai d'après le Traité dédié à Dara-schékouh, où ce chapitre se trouve tout entier, et il n'est pas le seul qui soit commun à ces deux ouvrages. L'auteur de ce dernier traité....., annonce lui-même, fol. 62, *verso*, qu'il va tirer quelques chapitres sur les métaux, de l'ouvrage de feu Abou'l Fazel, formant le III.^e tome de l'*Acher-namèh* : l'un de ces textes me servira à corriger l'autre.

De la formation des métaux.

"Le dieu créateur de l'univers a donné l'existence à quatre éléments en opposition les uns aux autres, et il a suscité quatre êtres d'une nature admirable : le feu chaud et sec, qui possède une légèreté absolue ; l'air chaud et humide, doué d'une légèreté relative ; l'eau froide et homide, qui possède une pesanteur relative ; la terre froide et sèche, douée d'une pesanteur absolue. La chaleur produit la légèreté, et le froid la pesanteur ; l'humidité facilite la séparation des parties, la sécheresse y met obstacle. Par la combinaison

de ces quatre puissances élémentaires, ont été produits tous les êtres dont l'existence est due à l'influence des corps célestes, les minéraux, les végétaux et les animaux.

“Les particules aqueuses, ayant acquis par les rayons du soleil et autres causes un plus grand degré de légèreté, se mêlent avec les particules aériennes, et s'élèvent en l'air : c'est cette combinaison que l'on nomme *vapeurs*. Par le moyen de cette combinaison, les molécules terreuses étant mêlées elles-mêmes avec les particules aériennes, s'élèvent aussi en l'air ; et c'est ce qu'on nomme *exhalaisons* : quelquefois aussi les particules aériennes se mêlent [immédiatement] avec les molécules terreuses. Il y a des philosophes qui appliquent également le nom de *vapeurs* à ces deux sortes de combinaisons élémentaires : ils désignent celles qui sont le produit des particules aqueuses, par le nom de *vapeurs humides* ou *aqueuses* ; et celles qui doivent leur formation aux molécules terreuses, par le nom de *vapeurs sèches* ou *fuligineuses*. Ce sont ces deux sortes de vapeurs qui forment au-dessus de la terre les nuées, le vent, la pluie, la neige et autres phénomènes semblables ; et dans l'intérieur du globe, les tremblemens de terre, les sources et les mines. On regarde les vapeurs comme le corps, et les exhalaisons comme l'esprit : des unes et des autres, suivant la diversité de leurs combinaisons et les différentes proportions dans lesquelles elles s'unissent, sont produites dans le laboratoire de la nature un grand nombre de substances diverses. Suivant ce qu'on lit dans les traités de philosophie, on ne compte pas plus de cinq espèces de minéraux : ceux qui sont infusibles à cause de leur sécheresse, comme le *pakout* ; ceux qui le sont à cause de leur humidité, comme le vif-argent ; ceux qui se fondent promptement, mais qui ne sont ni malléable, ni combustibles, comme le vitriol ; ceux qui ne sont pas malléables, mais qui sont combustibles, comme le soufre ; ceux enfin qui sont malléables, mais incombustibles, comme l'or. La fusion d'un corps consiste dans la liquéfaction de ses parties, due à la combinaison de la sécheresse et de l'humidité : la malléabilité [ou ductilité] est la faculté qu'a un corps de recevoir peu à peu une augmentation d'étendue, tant en longueur qu'en largeur, sans séparation d'aucune de ses parties et sans aucune addition.

“Quand les vapeurs et les exhalaisons se mêlent de manière que les premières soient le principe dominant, et que le mélange étant

achevé et la coction parfaite, l'ardeur du soleil coagule cet amalgame, le produit est du vif-argent. Comme il n'y a aucune des molécules de ce produit qui ne renferme quelque portion d'exhalaisons, ce corps a une qualité sèche dont les effets sont sensibles : il ne s'attache pas à la main ; au contraire, il fuit le contact : comme la chaleur a été le principe de sa coagulation, la chaleur ne peut la détruire. Si les deux principes [les vapeurs et les exhalaisons] se combinent dans des proportions à-peu-près égales, il se manifeste dans le mélange une humidité d'une nature visqueuse et onctueuse : à l'instant de la fermentation, des particules aériennes s'insinuant dans le mélange qui se coagule alors par le froid, les produits de cet amalgame sont inflammables. Si les exhalaisons et la qualité onctueuse dominant, le produit est du soufre, qui est rouge, jaune, bleu ou blanc ; s'il y a plus d'exhalaisons et peu de principe onctueux, l'amalgame donne l'arsenic qui est rouge et jaune ; enfin si ce sont les vapeurs qui dominant, il se trouve, quand la coagulation est achevée, que le produit est de la naphte qui est noire et blanche. Comme, dans ces amalgames, la coagulation est produite par le froid, ces corps sont fusibles par la chaleur ; et à cause de l'abondance de leur qualité huileuse et de leur humidité visqueuse, ils sont susceptibles de prendre feu ; enfin, à raison de leur excès d'humidité, ils ne sont point malléables. Les sept corps [ou métaux] ayant tous pour principes constituans le vif-argent et le soufre, la variété de ces corps ne peut avoir pour cause que les divers degrés de pureté de ces deux principes, la plus ou moins grande perfection de leur mélange, et la diversité d'influence qu'ils exercent l'un sur l'autre.

“Si les deux principes ne sont altérés par aucun mélange de parties terreuses, s'ils sont dans toute leur pureté naturelle, si enfin ils éprouvent une coction parfaite, alors le soufre étant blanc, et le vif-argent dans une proportion plus grande, le produit de l'amalgame est de l'argent ; il est de l'or, si les deux principes sont dans des proportions égales, et que le soufre soit rouge et possède la force colorante. Si, les circonstances étant les mêmes, après le mélange mais avant la parfaite coction, l'amalgame est coagulé par le froid, il se forme du *khar-tchini*, que l'on nomme aussi *fer de la Chine*, ce qui équivaut pour le sens à de l'or cru : quelques-uns le regardent comme une sorte de cuivre.” (La même doctrine sur la formation du *khar-tchini* ou *âhen-tchini*, nommé

encore *or cru*, se trouve dans cet ouvrage, fol. 60 *recto*, lig. 1^{re} et suiv). "Si le soufre seul n'est pas pur, que le vif-argent domine, et que la force brûlante unisse les deux principes, le produit est du cuivre. Quand le mélange n'est pas fait convenablement, et que la proportion du vif-argent est la plus forte, il se forme de l'étain : quelques-uns prétendent que l'étain ne se forme pas à moins que les deux principes ne soient l'un et l'autre dans un état de pureté. Si les deux principes sont mauvais et tres-altérés, qu'il y ait dans le vif-argent des molécules terreuses interposées, et dans le soufre une qualité brûlante, il résulte, de l'amalgame, du fer : enfin le produit est du plomb, si, les circonstances étant d'ailleurs les mêmes, le mélange ne se fait pas complètement, et que le vif-argent domine. On donne à ces sept substances le nom de *corps* ; on appelle le vif-argent *la mère des corps*, et le soufre *leur père* : on considère aussi le vif-argent comme l'*esprit*, et l'arsenic ainsi que le soufre, comme l'*ame*. Le *djost*, suivant quelques personnes, est l'*esprit de tutie*, et approche du plomb : il n'en est fait aucune mention dans les livres de philosophie. Il y en a une mine dans l'Indoustan, dans le territoire de Djalour, qui fait partie du soubah d'Adjmir.

"Les alchimistes disent que l'étain est un argent malade de la lèpre, le mercure un argent frappé de paralysie, le plomb un or lépreux et brûlé, et le cuivre un or cru, et que l'alchimiste, semblable à un médecin, remédie à ces maux par des moyens contraires ou assimilés.

"Les savans qui s'adonnent à la pratique des arts, font, avec ces sept corps, des compositions artificielles dont on se sert pour fabriquer des bijoux, joyaux, &c. Du nombre de ces compositions est le *séfid-ron* [c'est-à-dire, *blanc à l'extérieur*, peut-être le *pé-tong* des Chinois], nommé *cansi*¹ par les Indiens, qui se compose de quatre sères de cuivre et d'un sère d'étain unis par la fusion : le *rouï*, composé de quatre sères de cuivre et d'un sère et demi de plomb, et que l'on appelle dans l'Inde *bahngar* : le *biroundj*, nommé par les Indiens *petel*,² et dont il y a trois variétés ; la première, qui se bat à froid, et contient deux sères et demi de cuivre, et un sère d'esprit de tutie ; la seconde, qui se bat à chaud, com-

(1) *Kāmsya*, See p. 64

(2) *Pittala*, See p. 63

posée de deux sères de cuivre et d'un sère et demi d'esprit de tutie ; la troisième, qui ne se bat point, mais qui s'emploie pour les ouvrages jetés en moule, et dans laquelle il entre deux sères de cuivre, et un sère d'esprit de tutie : le *sim-sakhtèh* [argent marqué ou *pesé* ; peut-être faut-il lire *soukhtèh*, brûlé], dans la composition duquel il entre de l'argent, du plomb et du cuivre, dont la couleur est d'un noir éclatant, et qui s'emploie dans la peinture : le *heft-djousch* [bouilli sept fois], dans lequel on se contente d'amalgamer six métaux, lorsqu'on n'a pas de *khar-tchini* ; quelques-uns lui donnent le nom de *talikoun* [catholicon] ; mais suivant d'autres, le talikoun est un cuivre préparé : l'*esch-dhat*, composé de huit choses, savoir, les six métaux susdits, l'esprit de tutie et le *cansi* ; on le fait aussi avec sept substances seulement : le *caulpatr* composé de deux sères de *séfid-rou*, et d'un sère de cuivre ; il prend une couleur foncée très-agréable. C'est une des inventions de notre saint empereur."¹

On the Essence of Minerals

CALAMINE

It will be seen Gladwin's rendering of *Ain-i-Akbari* is not very reliable ; it may, however, be noted here that even Blochman in his much improved and more accurate translation erroneously renders *jost* as "pewter."² The *rûh i tûtia* (spirits of tutia) is used in the above extract in the same sense as in *Rasārnava*, which describes zinc as the *svattam* (essence) of *rasaka* (see p. 39). In R. R. S. also we find that blue vitriol yields a "*svattam*," which is no other than copper"³ (p. 48).

(1) Chrestomathie Arabe, T. III. pp. 453-58 ed. 1827.

(2) Vol. I. p. 40.

(3) The essence or spirits of minerals is used here in a different sense from that of the generality of the Arabian and European alchemists. According to the latter there are four spirits of minerals, namely, sulphur, arsenic, sal-ammoniac and mercury. "Les mots *esprits*, *corps*, *âmes*, sont fréquemment employés par les alchimistes dans un sens spécial, qu'il importe de connaître pour l'intelligence de leurs écrits. Les passages suivants, quoique d'une époque plus moderne, jettent beaucoup de lumière sur ce point."

THE VITRIOLS

From the writings of Dioscorides and Pliny it does not appear that the ancient Greeks and Romans drew any sharp distinction between blue and green vitriol respectively. The word *chalcanthum* was applied now to the one, now to the other¹. In the Hindu Materia Medica no such confusion occurs. Even in the Charaka and the Susruta *tuttham* (blue vitriol) and *kāśisa* (green vitriol) are mentioned side by side.

BLUE VITRIOL

The word *tuttham* is generally applied to blue vitriol ; in *Rasendrasārasamgraha* and Sarngadhara, the following synonyms are given : तुल्यके तु शिखिरीवं हंससारं मयूरकं ।

R. R. S. uses *mayūratuttham* (मयूरतुल्यं) in Bk. ii. 129, which is a combination of the last and the first names in the above *sloka*. *Sikhigrīvam* (lit. resembling the neck of the peacock) is practically the same as *mayurakantha sachchhāyam* in *sloka*, 127, *i.e.* having the play of colour in the throat of the peacock.

The term *sasyaka* as a synonym for blue vitriol does not occur in any other medico-chemical work that I have come across except *Rasārnava*.

That an essence in the shape of copper is yielded by blue

"On lit dans le traité de *Mineralibus*, prétendu d'Albert le Grand (L. I. tr. I, ch. Ier) : 'ce qui s'évapore au feu est esprit, âme, accident ; ce qui ne s'évapore pas, corps et substance.'—Coll. des Alch. Grecs, I. pp. 247-8. Cf. "Le cuivre est comme l'homme ; il a corps et âme."—Introd. à la Chimie des Anciens, p. 294. See also, "La chimie au moyen âge," T. I. p. 73, and *ibid.* T. III. pp. 168-70 ; also *ante* p. 91.

(1) "Ich habe schon bei der Geschichte des Eisenvitriols darauf aufmerksam gemacht, welche Unsicherheit in den früheren Mittheilungen über Vitriol im Allgemeinen herrscht. Auch die älteren Angaben, welche am passendsten auf den Kupfervitriol bezogen werden, können zum theil auf Eisenvitriol gegangen sein." Ges. der Chem. IV. p. 168.

"Observons les sens divers de ce mot couperose [chalcantho], ou de son équivalent vitriol, tels que : vitriol bleu : sulfate de cuivre ; vitriol vert : sulfate de fer, et sulfate de cuivre basique ; vitriol jaune et rouge : sulfates de fer basiques." Coll. d. Alch. Grecs. I. pp. 241-242.

vitriol is worthy of note from a historical point of view. *Rasārṇava* very often hits upon it but is not so explicit as R. R. S., as it modestly contents itself with the mere assertion that the essence is of the colour of *Coccinella* insect i.e. red (see pp. 47-48). In the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (ca. 1550 A.D.) occurs this remarkable passage : “तुल्यं तु ताम्रोपधातुर्हि किञ्चिन्नामैन तद्वति”, *blue vitriol is indeed a semi-metal of copper as it is derived from copper*. The nomenclature itself is in wonderful agreement with that adopted nearly two centuries later by Boerhave¹ (1732 A. D.).

Our knowledge of the nature of the “essence” of blue vitriol has thus been gradually advanced from *Rasārṇava* downwards.²

(1) “Die krystallisirten Verbindungen eines Metalls mit Säuren erkannte er nicht unbedingt als Salze an; die Vitriol namentlich rechnete er zu den Halbmetallen”. Kopp: *Ges. d. Chem.* 111. p. 6.

(2) “Basil Valentine” seems to have known that some vitriols contained copper, but his “Blue vitriol” does not necessarily mean sulphate of copper. “Der blaue Vitriol.....heisst bei Basilius vitriolum commune : was bei ihm Vitriolum Veneries genannt wird, ist oft Grünspan und überhaupt geht diese Bezeichnung bei ältern schriftstellern auf sehr verschiedenartige Kupfersalze, wie denn Libavius in seiner *Alchymia* (1595) für die Bereitung des vitrioli Veneris vorschreibt.....” Even Agricola (1494-1555), contemporary of Bhāva does not make any great distinction between green and blue vitriol. “Agricola beschreibt in seiner Schrift *de re metallica* die Darstellung des Kupfrevitriols bei der des Eisenvitriols und des Alauns, ohne die beiden ersteren als wesentlich verschieden anzusehn, und auch in seiner Abhandlung “*de natura fossilium*” unterscheidet er nur verschieden gefärbte, nicht aber wesentlich verschiedene Vitriole.....” *Ges. d. Chem.* IV 170-171.

ON
GUNPOWDER, SALTPETRE
AND THE
MINERAL ACIDS

GUNPOWDER

The ancient Hindus are sometimes credited with the knowledge of the art of manufacturing gunpowder, in support of which the several recipes given in the *Sukranīti* or the Elements of Polity of Sukrāchārya, which we have already had occasion to quote, are cited. Take for example the following :—

सुवर्चिलवणात् पत्र पलानि गन्धकात् पलम् ।
अन्तर्धूमविपक्वाकंसुह्याद्यङ्गारतः पलम् ॥ २०१
शुद्धात् संशोध्य संचूर्ण्य समील्य प्रपुटेद्रसैः ।
क्षुह्यकार्णां रसीनस्य शीषयेदातपेन च ।
पिष्टा शर्करवच्चैतदग्निचूर्णं भवेत् खलु ॥ २०२
सुवर्चिलवणाङ्गागाः पट्टा चत्वार एव वा ।
नालास्त्वार्थाग्निचूर्णं तु गन्धाङ्गारौ तु पूर्व्ववत् ॥ २०३
गोर्ला लोहमयो गर्भवटिकः केवलाऽपि वा ।
सीमस्य लघुनालार्थं ह्रन्धधातुभर्वाऽपि वा ॥ २०४
लोहसारमय वापि नालास्त्वं त्वन्यधातुजम् ।
नित्यसम्माजंनस्वच्छसस्वर्पातिभरावृतम् ॥ २०५
अङ्गारस्यैव गन्धस्य सुवर्चिलवणस्य च ।
शिलाया हरितालस्य तथा सीसमलस्य च ॥ २०६
हिङ्गुलस्य तथा कान्तरजसः कर्पूरस्य च ।
जतीर्नान्याथ सरलनित्यामस्य तथैव च ॥ २०७
समन्यूनाधिकैरंशैरग्निचूर्णान्यनेकशः ।
कल्पयन्ति च तद्विद्यायन्दिकाभादिमन्त्रि च ॥ २०८
क्षिपन्ति चाग्निसंशोगाङ्गीलं लब्धे सुनालगम् ॥ २०९

नालास्त्रं शोधयेदादौ दद्यात्तत्राग्निचूर्णकम् ।

निविशयेत्तद्दण्डेन नालमूलं यथा दृढम् ॥ 210

ततः सुगोलकं दद्यात् ततः कर्णेऽग्निचूर्णकम् ।

कर्णचूर्णाग्निदानेन गोलं लब्धं निपातयेत्¹ ॥ 211

“Take five *palas* of saltpetre, one *pala* of sulphur and one *pala* of charcoal, prepared from the wood of *Calotropis gigantea* and *Euphorbia neriifolia* by destructive distillation²; powder them and mix them intimately and macerate them in the juice of the above-named plants and of garlic and afterwards dry the mixture in the sun and pulverise it to the fineness of sugar. Gunpowder (lit. fire-powder) is thus obtained. 201-202

“If the fire-powder is to be used for a gun, six or four *palas* of saltpetre are to be taken, the proportion of charcoal and sulphur remaining the same as before. 203

“For a gun with a light barrel, balls of iron or of lead or of other metals are to be used. 204

“The gun made of iron or of other metals are to be constantly kept clean and bright by the skilful artillerymen. 205

“By varying the proportions of the ingredients, *viz.* charcoal, sulphur, saltpetre, realgar, orpiment, calx of lead, asafetida, iron powder, camphor, lac, indigo, and the resin of *Shorea robusta*, different kinds of fires are devised by the pyrotechnists giving forth flashes of starlight.” 206-208

From the circumstantial details given above, especially of the method of preparing the charcoal, one is naturally led to suspect that the lines relating to gunpowder as quoted above are later interpolations. The suspicion is further enhanced when it is borne in mind that in the Polity of Kāmandakī, an ancient work of undoubted authenticity, there occurs no reference whatever to firearms nor is there any in the Agnipurāṇa in which the subject of training in the use of arms and armours takes up four chapters, archery forming the leading element.³

The more rational conclusion would be that the *Sukarnīti* is

(1) Ed. J. Vidyāsāgara, pp. 555-57.

(2) अलर्धूमविपक्वः : lit., (wood) charred by smoke circulating through it.

(3) See Intro. to Dr. R. L. Mitra's edition of *Agnipurāṇa*.

a patch work in which portions of chapter IV were added some time after the introduction of gunpowder in Indian warfare during the Moslem period. ¹

In Halhed's "Code of Gentoo Laws," there is a passage which is sometimes quoted as a proof that the ancient Hindus knew the use of firearms. Halhed, not having an acquaintance with Sanskrit had to depend on the Persian translation of the Sanskrit digest prepared by some learned pundits. We have been at some pains in finding out the original text which is generally credited to Manu. It is only by a forced interpretation that anything in Manu may be taken to refer to a projectile discharged from a gun. ²

In Sanskrit literature, there are frequent but vague references to *agni astra* or firearms, but we have no reason to suppose

(1) Dr. R. L. Mitra, judging from the description of guns alone, concludes this portion to be spurious ;—*vide* Notices of Sanskrit Mss. Vol. V. p. 135.

M. Berthelot's concluding remarks on Marcus Græcus' Book of Fire are equally applicable to *Sukraniti* :—

"Mais je n'insiste pas, si ce n'est pour rappeler comment ces additions manifestent le caractère véritable de la composition de ces manuscrit et livres de recettes, déjà répandus dans l'antiquité et dont les formules sont venues jusqu'au XVIIIe siècle, parfois même jusqu'à notre temps. Le *Liber ignium* en est un exemple, et l'analyse précédente montre bien comme il a été composé avec des matériaux de dates multiples, les uns remontant à l'antiquité, les autres ajoutés à diverses époques, dont les dernières étaient contemporaines, ou très voisines de celle de la transcription de chaque manuscrit." La Chimie au moyen âge T. I. 135.

(2) The passage in Manu runs thus :

न कूटैरायुधैर्हन्त्याद युध्यमानो रणे रिपून् ।

न कर्षिभिर्नापि दिग्धैर्नाग्निज्वलिततेजनैः ॥ मनु, VII. 90.

We give below the commentaries of Melhātithi and Kullūka Bhatta :—
कूटानि यानि वह्निःकाष्ठमयानि अन्तर्निश्चितशस्त्रानि । कर्षिणः शराः, ये शस्त्रस्य मूले मध्ये वा कर्षाकारैः क्रियन्ते । ते हि प्रविष्टा दुरुद्धरा भवन्ति, प्रहारैरभिन्नमपि शरैरैवमदेशं भिन्दन्ति । दिग्धैर्विषोपलिप्ताः । अग्निना ज्वलितमादीपित तेजोमयफलकं येषां, एतैर्नयोदयम् । इति मेधातिथिः ।

कूटान्यायुधानि वह्निःकाष्ठादिमयानि, अन्तर्गूढनिश्चितशस्त्राणि तैः, समरे युद्धमानः शत्रून् न हन्त्यात् ; नापि कर्षाकारफलकैर्नापि विषाक्तैर्नाप्यग्निप्रदीप्तफलकैरित्यर्थः । इति कुल्लूकभट्टः ।

The correct rendering should be as follows :—"The king shall not slay his enemies in warfare with deceitful or barbed or poisoned weapons, nor with any having a blade *made red hot by fire* or tipped with burning

that the combustible matter these fire arms contained supplied a motive power of the nature of gunpowder. The fire missiles were probably of the same category as the "Greek fire," *i.e.* arrows or darts tipped with oiled flax, resin, realgar, naphtha or other bituminous substances discharged from bows; sometimes elaborate machines being devised to hurl the weapons with more deadly effect. In the *Udyogaparava* of the *Mahābhārata*, Yudhisthira is described as "collecting large quantities of resin, tow, and other inflammable articles for his great fratricidal war." ¹ But there is nothing to show that gunpowder of any sort was in use or any chemical which would act as a propelling agent. ²

materials"; Bühler, who also follows the above commentators, thus translates: "when he (the king) fights with his foes in battle, let him not strike with weapons concealed (in wood), nor with (such as are) barbed, poisoned, or the points of which are blazing with fire." Whereas Halhed's version is: "the magistrate shall not make war with any deceitful machine or with poisoned weapons or with cannon and guns or with any other kind of firearms."

(1) See Dr. Mitra's *Antiquities of Orissa*, 1.121.

(2) In the 11th century, Kāsmīr remained safe behind its mountain ramparts and was hermetically sealed to all foreigners without exception. Here, according to Albīrūnī, Hindu sciences retired and took shelter when the Mohammedan invasion of India began. But in the indigenous mode of warfare no reference to gunpowder is to be found; thus we read in Kalhava's *Rajataranginī* that in 1090 A. D. "he (Kandarpa) threw into the mêlée burning arrows smeared over with vegetable oil, struck by which the enemies caught fire. Believing that he knew [the use of] the weapon of fire (*āgneya astrā*), they became frightened and fled in bewilderment, cursing their return."

Stein's Trans. Vol. 1. p. 344.

The original passage is

ततलानय नाराचान् निचिन्निप म संयुगे ।

लिपानौषधितैलन विद्धा येः प्राञ्चलन् दिशः ॥

आग्नेयं वेद्यमावन्ममिति मूर्खा विशङ्किताः ।

ते दृशं प्रययुर्भूता निन्दन्तः पुनरागमम् ।

VII. 983, 989.

For further references to similar fire-missiles see *Mahānātaka* or *Hanumāna Nātaka* in Wilson's *Hindu Theatre*, Vol. II. ed. 1835, appendix, pp. 369-70.

The first record of the use of cannon and gunpowder in Indian warfare is in the memoirs of Baber. In 1528 he forced the passage of the Ganges near Kanauj with the aid of artillery. For much valuable information on the

The mention of gunpowder and of some sort of explosives with identical formularies occurs almost simultaneously in the Latin redaction of the work on "Fire" by Marcus Græcus and in the writings of Roger Bacon about the 13th century.¹ Greek fire was introduced into Constantinople from the East about the year 673 and the Byzantians evidently knew that saltpetre was its basis; but they kept this knowledge strictly a secret, and abstained from speaking of it by any distinct name lest the information might leak out. Thus the very word saltpetre is conspicuous by its absence in the literature of the ancients. Nitrum (natron) was all along exclusively applied to carbonate of soda.¹

SALTPETRE

It will thus be seen that there is much in common in the history of the word used for nitrate of potash both in the Sanskrit and in the Latin languages, as in the former *sauvarchala* and *yavakshara* are indiscriminately applied to it.

It is very remarkable that in the later Sanskrit chemico-medical literature the very word *sauvarchala*, which stands for saltpetre in the *Sukranīti* and in the *Rasārnava*, ceases altogether to be applied to it, but is used as a synonym of *sārjikā* (natron), while *yavakshāra* has been pressed into service, it being clean forgotten that from the time of Charaka and Susruta this word has been used in its radical sense, *viz*, the *ashes of barley* (impure carbonate of potash, from *yava*, barley and *kshāra*, ashes)². Both Wilson and Monier Williams in their Sanskrit English Dictionaries, following no doubt the authority of modern writers, erroneously

subject of the early Asiatic fire-weapons the reader may consult an exhaustive article by Maj. Gen. R. Maclagan in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. XLV. pp. 30 ff.

(1) La Chimie au moyen âge, 1. p. 94.

(2) Cf. "C'est par erreur que la plupart des éditeurs des auteurs grecs ou latins traduisent ces mots par nitre ou salpêtre, substance presque inconnue dans l'antiquité, et que apparaît seulement à partir du VI^e siècle à Constantinople, avec le feu grégeois dont elle était la base. Les anciens parlent aussi du nitrum factice, préparé avec les cendres de chêne, c'est-à-dire du carbonate de potasse."—Intro. à l'étude de la Chimie, p. 263.

render *yavakshara* as saltpetre as also does Colebrooke in his *Amarakosha*. Roth and Böhlingk in their Wörterbuch, however, correctly translate it as "Aetzkali, aus der Asche von Gerstenstroh." ¹

It is strange indeed that a substance which occurs extensively in Bengal and in upper India as an efflorescence on the soil should have been allowed to go without a definite name for several centuries.² Dutt says "nitre was unknown to the ancient Hindus. There is no recognised name for it in Sanskrit."³ * * * Some recent Sanskrit formulas for the preparation of mineral acids containing nitre mention this salt under the name of *soraka*. This word, however, is not met with in any Sanskrit dictionary and is evidently sanskritized from the vernacular *sorā*, a term of foreign origin. The manufacture of nitre was therefore most probably introduced into India after the adoption of gunpowder as an implement of warfare."⁴ Mat. Med. of the Hindus, pp. 89-90, ed. 1900.

(1) In the chemistry of Bubacar, "le sel de cendres" is the equivalent of *yavakshara*.—La Chimie au moyen âge, 1. 308.

(2) We purposely use the words "allowed to go without a definite name," for the term *sauvarchala* was all along vaguely used now for saltpetre, now for natron.

(3) He is in error on this point, as he had not consulted, or probably had no acquaintance with, the old literature on the subject. Prof. Macdonell very properly points out "the dangers of the *argumentum ex silentio* [as] furnished by the fact that salt, the most necessary of minerals, is never once mentioned in the *Rigveda*. And yet the northern Panjāb is the very part of India where it most abounds. It occurs in the salt range between the Indus and the Jhelum in such quantities that the Greek companions of Alexander according to Strabo, asserted the supply to be sufficient for the wants of the whole of India." It would be equally hazardous to rush to the conclusion that nitre was "unknown" to the Hindus.

(4) Dutt is probably correct in so far as he states his views with regard to "the manufacture of nitre" as an ingredient of gunpowder. For it is well known saltpetre has been in use from time immemorial as the basis of rocket and other fireworks both in China and India. In the *Dasakumāracharita* by Dandī, mention is made of *yogavartikā* (magic wick) and *yagachurna* (magic powder), of which saltpetre was probably the basis. The earliest account of the manufacture of saltpetre on a commercial scale that we have come across occurs in a rare work entitled "The Travels of John Albert de Mandelso from Persia into the East Indies. London, 1669." The book is in the valuable collection of my friend, Mr. Prithvīa Chandra Rāya. Says our author:—

MINERAL ACIDS

Geber was up till recently credited with being the discoverer of nitric acid, aqua regia, silver nitrate, &c. A careful examination of the works of Geber, both real and pretended, notably of the celebrated *Summa perfectionis magisterii* has convinced M. Berthelot that the knowledge of the mineral acids was unknown not only to the Arabs but also to the European alchemists of the thirteenth century. It was a Latin author of the latter half of the 13th century who wrote the above memorable work and assumed the venerable name of Geber to gain public confidence.¹ Such instances of literary forgery are by no means uncommon in the alchemical literature of the East and the West.

The distillation of alum is referred to in *Rasārnava* and of green vitriol in *R. R. S.* (see pp. 40, 50, 51). We have, however, no evidence that the acid thus derived was ever used as a solvent. Hoefer justly remarks that real progress in chemistry was impossible in India and China, as the preparation of mineral acids was unknown in both these countries.² At the same time we should remember that *Rasārnava* and similar other works lay stress upon *vidya*, in which aqua regia may be said to be

"Most of the *salt-peter* which is sold in *Guzuratta* comes from *Ajmer*, sixty Leagues from *Agra*, and they get it out of Land that hath lain long fallow. The blackest and fattest ground yields most of it, though other Lands afford some, and it is made thus : they make certain trenches which they fill with their Saltpetrous Earth, and let into them small Rivulets, as much water as will serve for its soaking, which may be the more effectually done, they make use of their feet, treading it till it becomes a Broath. When the Water hath drawn out all the salt-peter which was in the Earth, they take the clearest part of it, and dispose it into another Trench, where it grows thick, and then they boil it like salt, continually scumming it, and then they put it into earthen pots, wherein the remainder of the Dregs goes to the bottom ; and when the water begins to thicken, they take it out of these pots, to set it a-drying in the sun, where it grows hard, and is reduced into that form wherein it is brought into *Europe*." pp. 66-67.

(1) "L'hypothèse la plus vraisemblable à mes yeux, c'est qu'un auteur latin, resté inconnu, a écrit ce livre dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e. siècle, et l'a mis sous le patronage du nom vénéré de Géber." *La Chimie au moyen âge*, I. 349.

(2) *Hist. de la Chimie*, T. I. p. 25, ed. 1866.

potentially present and which is fitly described as capable of "killing all the metals" (see pp. 40-41).

The preparation of mineral acids is incidentally described in several exclusively medical works, composed probably in the 16th and 17th centuries, e.g. *Rasakaumudī* by Mādhava, *Rasaratna-pradīpa* and *Bhaishajjaratnāvalī* by Govindadāsa, &c. In the last work under the heading of *Mahādrāvakaṛasa*, directions are given for distilling a mixture of, among other things, alum, green vitriol, salammoniac, saltpetre and borax in a glass retort. In this way a dilute solution of nitro-muriatic acid is obtained, which is prescribed in derangement of liver and spleen. We have a similar recipe in which in addition to the above ingredients, rock-salt and sea-salt are used, thus yielding what is called *Samkha-drāvaka* (lit. solvent for conch-shell).

The term *drāvaka* (solvent) seems to have been expressly coined to do duty for the mineral acids. We have seen all along that in the older works *drāvaka* was used invariably in the sense of solvent or flux (see p. 72), but never in the sense of a mineral acid, the knowledge of which seems to have spread both in the East and the West almost simultaneously. The regular application of the mineral acids to technical operations dates from the time of the Emperor Akbar or perhaps a little earlier. Thus, in the *A'in-i-Akbari* under the "Method of Refining Silver" mention is made of the use of *Rasi* (aqua fortis). It is not easy to make out how much of the processes of the assay of gold and silver as described in the *A'in* is of Hindu origin.

Royle, Sir W. O'shaughnessy ("Manual of Chemistry"), Ainslie and others maintained that the Hindus were acquainted with the methods of preparing the mineral acids. These authors who wrote more than half-a-century ago derived their information at second-hand as none of them had probably read the Sanskrit works in the original. Ainslie gives the following recipes as used in Southern India among the Tamil physicians for the preparation of sulphuric, nitric and muriatic acids respectively :

Sulphuric acid : "The Tamil physicians prepared their article nearly in the same way that we do, *viz.* by burning sulphur with a small piece of nitre in strong earthen vessels."

O'shaughnessy says : "sulphuric acid, the *Gundak ká áttar* of the Hindus has long been known among the Eastern nations. In southern India it has been prepared for many centuries."

Nitric acid : This acid the Hindus make a clumsy attempt at preparing in the following manner which must not be rigidly criticised by the chemists of Europe.

Take of saltpetre	20 parts.
„ alum	16 „
„ the acid liquid from the leaves and stem of the Bengal horsegram	18 „

Mix and distil with an increasing heat till the whole of the acid is condensed in a receiver.

Muriatic acid : "Take of
common salt „ 8 parts
alum „ 6 parts

The acid liquid from the horse gram and distil &c."

The very name of sulphuric acid, *Gundak ká áttar* is Urdu *i.e.* the hybrid *lingua franca*, an admixture of Hindi with Persian. *Attar* in Persian means the volatile principle, often odoriferous, *e.g.* *Guláb ká áttar i.e.* otto de Rose. Gundhak in Sanskrit is the equivalent for sulphur.

KNOWLEDGE OF TECHNICAL ARTS AND DECLINE OF SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT

In ancient India the useful arts and sciences, as distinguished from mere handicrafts, were cultivated by the higher classes. In the White Yajur-Veda and in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, we meet with the names of various professions which throw light on the state of society of that period ; unfortunately a knowledge of these perished with the institution of the caste system in its most rigid form. ¹ Among the sixty-four *Kalās* or arts and sciences which are enumerated in the old work of Vātsāyana ² called *Kāmasūtra* occur the names of the following :

सुवर्णरत्नपरीक्षा :—or the examination and valuation of gold and gems.

धातुवादः or chemistry and metallurgy.

मणिरागाकरज्ञानम् :—or knowledge of the colouring of gems and jewels, as also of mines and quarries.

In the *Sukranītisāra* or the Elements of Polity by Sukrāchārya, we also read an account of the various *Kalās* : e.g.

पाषाणधालादिदृष्टिसुदृढभस्मीकरणं कला :—“the art of piercing and incinerating the stones and the metals is known as a *Kalā*.”

धायौषधीनां संयोगक्रियोज्ञानं कला स्मृता :—“a knowledge of the combinations of the metals and the herbs and the plants is also regarded as a *Kalā*.”

धातुमाङ्ग्यपार्थक्यकरणं कला स्मृता ।

संयोगापूर्वविज्ञानं धालादीनां कला स्मृता ॥

(1) See Dutt's *Civilization in Ancient India*, pp. 155-157, Calcutta ed.

(2) “Vātsāyana is another old authority.....The name occurs in Pāṇini 4. 1. 73. and probably the author of the *Kāmasūtras* was meant as some of his rules refer to terms chiefly used in the latter. The text has come down to us almost undefiled, showing its great popularity among our ancestors, which is also clear from its commentaries and reference by Dandī, Vāmana and other great writers.”—Preface to Barua's *Amarakesha*, preface, xiii.

"The art of alloying and separating the metals is also known as a *kalā*.

चारनिकामनज्ञानं कलामञ्जन् तत् स्मृतम् ।
कलादशकमेतद्धि ह्यायुर्वेदागमेषु च ॥

"The art of extracting alkali (see pp. 17-22 under Susruta) is likewise counted as a *kalā*. In the science of Ayurveda, there are altogether ten *kalās*."

We also find that among the companions of the poet Vāna were an assayer and a metallurgist. ¹ Such terms as *Lohavid* and *Dhātuvīd* which occur repeatedly in Sanskrit literature show that the metallurgists were held in high esteem and expert knowledge sought after.

The art of dyeing was carried almost to perfection, the fast colours resembling the Tyrean purple.

In the Vedic age the *Rishis* or priests did not form an exclusive caste of their own but followed different professions according to their convenience or natural tastes, thus fulfilling the ideal laid down by Emerson : "Has he (man) not a *calling* in his character? Each man has his own vocation. The talent is the call." But all this was changed when the Brāhmins reasserted their supremacy on the decline or the expulsion of Buddhism.

The caste system was established *de novo* in a more rigid form. The drift of Manu and of the later Purāṇas is in the direction of glorifying the priestly class, which set up most arrogant and outrageous pretensions. According to Susruta, the dissection of dead bodies is a *sine quā non* to the student of surgery and this high authority lays particular stress on knowledge gained from experiment and observation. ² But Manu

(1) Cowell and Thomas' Trans. of *Harshu-charita*, p. 33.

(2) त्वक्पथ्येनस्य देहस्य योऽयमङ्गविनिश्चयः ।
शल्यज्ञानादिति नैष वर्यतेऽङ्गेषु केषुचित् ॥
तस्मान्निश्चयं ज्ञानं हर्षा शल्यस्य वाञ्छता ।
शोधयित्वा मृतं मस्यग् दृष्टव्याऽङ्गविनिश्चयः ॥
प्रत्यक्षतो हि यदृष्टं शास्त्रदृष्टं च यज्ञवत् ।
समासतस्तुभयं भूयो ज्ञानविवर्द्धनम् ॥ 43-45

would have none of it. The very touch of a corpse, according to Manu, is enough to bring contamination to the sacred person of a Brāhmin.¹ Thus we find that shortly after the time of Vāgbhata, the handling of a lancet was discouraged and Anatomy and Surgery fell into disuse and became to all intents and purposes lost sciences to the Hindus. It was considered equally undignified to sweat away at the forge like a Cyclops. Hence the cultivation of the *kalās* by the more refined classes of the society of which we get such vivid pictures in the ancient Sanskrit literature survives only in traditions since a very long time past.²

* * * * *

शरीरं चैव शास्त्रं च दृष्टार्थः स्याद्विशारदः ।

दृष्टश्रुताभ्यां मन्देहमवापी ह्याचरेत् क्रियाः ॥ 48.

Sāñira. Ch. V.

(1) *The Laws of Manu*, V. 64, 85, 87.

(2) Similar dangers have threatened Europe from time to time but her sturdy sons have proved better of them in the long run. Thus "Aristotle's opinion that 'industrial work tends to lower the standard of thought' was certainly of influence here. In accordance with this dictum the educated Greeks held aloof from the observation and practice of technical chemical processes ; a theoretical explanation of the reactions involved in these lay outside their circle of interests."—Meyer's *Hist. of Chemistry*, trans. by McGowan, p. 10, ed. 1898.

Paracelsus flings a sneer at the physicians of his time and compares them with the alchemists in the following terms : "For they are not given to idleness nor go in a proud habit, or plush and velvet garments, often showing their rings upon their fingers or wearing swords with silver hilts by their sides, or fine and gay gloves upon their hands, but diligently follow their labours, sweating whole days and nights by their furnaces. They do not spend their time abroad for recreations but take delight in their laboratory. They wear leather garments with a pouch, and an apron wherewith they wipe their hands. They put their fingers amongst coals, into clay, and filth, not into gold rings. They are sooty and black like smiths and colliers, and do not pride themselves upon clean and beautiful faces."—Quoted by Rodwell in his *Birth of chemistry*.

Even so late as the middle of the last century, the pursuit of Chemistry in England was not regarded in a serious light and "chemists were ashamed to call themselves so because the apothecaries had appropriated the name"—a circumstance which led Liebig in 1837 to declare "that England was not the land of science."

The arts being thus relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary, a certain degree of fineness, delicacy and deftness in manipulation was no doubt secured but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being thus withdrawn from active participation in the arts, the *how and why* of phenomena—the coördination of cause and effect—were lost sight of—the spirit of enquiry gradually died out among a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences.¹ Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Des Cartes or a Newton and her very namewas all but expunged from the map of the scientific world.²

(1) The Vedānta philosophy, as modified and expanded by Saṃkāra, which teaches the unreality of the material world, is also to a large extent responsible for bringing the study of physical science into disrepute. Saṃkāra is unsparing in his strictures on Kaṇāda and his system. One or two extracts from Saṃkāra's Commentary on the Vedānta Sūtras, will make the point clear :

“तस्मादिवमसारतरतर्कसंयुज्यत्वात्, ईश्वरकारणश्रुतिविरुद्धत्वात्, श्रुतिप्रवण्ये शिष्टमेवादिभिरपरिगृहीतत्वात्, अत्यलमेवाऽनपेक्षामिन् परमाणुकारणवार्दे कार्याऽर्थः श्रेयोऽर्थिभिर्गति वाक्यशेषः । २।२।१७ सूत्रभाष्यम् ।

वैशेषिकराज्ञानी दुर्युक्तियोगाद् वेदविराधात्, शिष्टापरिगृह्याच्च नार्पिततव्य इत्युक्तः मौड्गलैयैनाशिक इति वैनाशिकत्वमाभ्यात् सख्यैनाशिकराज्ञानी नितरासनपेक्षित्यव्य इतीदं ईदानीं उपपादयामः । २।२।१८ सूत्रभाष्यम् । *Vedānta Darśana*, Bombay ed.

“It thus appears that the atomic doctrine is supported by very weak arguments only, is opposed to those scriptural passages which declare the Lord to be the general cause, and is not accepted by any of the authorities taking their stand on scripture, such as Manu and others. Hence it is to be altogether disregarded by high-minded men who have a regard for their own spiritual welfare.” II. 2, 17.

“The reasons on account of which the doctrine of the Vaisheshikas cannot be accepted have been stated above. That doctrine may be called semi-destructive (or semi-nihilistic).” Thibaut's trans., *Ibid.* 18.

(2) Among a people ridden by caste and hide bound by the authorities and injunctions of the *Vedas*, *Puranas*, and *Smritis* and having their intellect thus cramped and paralysed, no Boyle could arise to lay down such sound principles for guidance as :

P. XXVI. “. . . I saw that several chymists had, by a laudable diligence obtain'd various productions, and hit upon many more phenomena, considerable in their kind, than could well be expected from their narrow principles .

In this land of intellectual torpor and stagnation the artisan classes, left very much to themselves and guided solely by their mother wit and sound commonsense, which is their only heritage in this world, have kept up the old traditions.¹ In their own way they display marvellous skill in damascening, making ornamental designs on metals, carving on ivory, enamelling, weaving, dyeing, lace-making, goldsmith's and jeweller's works, etc.²

The successive stages in the manipulation of one branch of the arts have been carefully watched by Mr. Jñānasarāva Chakravarti M. A., late Scholar, Presidency College, and his experiences embodied in a paper, which, for the most part, is reproduced below with certain alterations; it is of singular interest as a contribution to the history of the Indian technical arts. It now remains only to add that some of the processes described below were in vogue at the time of the Emperor Akbar and probably existed long before, as Rasārṇava amply testifies (p. 38). The very terms "*poonoor*" (*puṇhār*) and "Ncharwalla" (Nīariyah) occur in the descriptions of the assay of gold in Āin-i-Akbari.³

but finding the generality of those addicted to chymistry, to have had scarce any view, but to the preparation of medicines, or to the improving of metals, I was tempted to consider the art, not as a physician or an alchymist, but a philosopher. And, with this view, I once drew up a scheme for a chymical philosophy; which I should be glad that any experiments or observations of mine might any way contribute to complete."

P. XVIII. ". . . And, truly, if men were willing to regard the advancement of philosophy, more than their own reputations, it were easy to make them sensible, that one of the most considerable services they could do the world is, to set themselves diligently to make experiments, and collect observations, without attempting to establish theories upon them, before they have taken notice of all the phenomena that are to be solved." Shaw's ed. of Boyle's works, 3 vols. 1725.

(1) Vide manufacture of alum, pp. 80-82.

(2) For detailed information on some of these branches the reader may consult Birdwood's *Industrial Arts of India*.

(3) Along with Mr. Chakravarti's Essay should be read Āins 7, 8 and 9 "on the Manner of Refining Gold," "the Method of Refining Silver" "and the Method of Separating the Silver from the Gold." Blochmann's trans. Vol. 1. pp. 20-25.

The wastage of Gold in the course of Preparing Jewelry in Bengal ¹

SOLDERING

The next process that we shall consider is soldering. This is undoubtedly the most important process that the goldsmith has to perform from a commercial point of view. It is in the course of this process that the practical goldsmith plays those mischievous tricks which go so hard against those who purchase his productions or order for them. The quality or quantity of solder (or *pan*) employed is the first question that is universally enquired into in all cases of commercial dealings in Indian jewelry ; and while by melting some articles the value of the gold per tola is reduced by Re. 1 or 2 only, we frequently find cases in which the value is decreased at the ruinous rate of Rs. 8 or Rs. 10. This last state of affairs arises when the solder consists almost entirely of a mixture of baser metals and is at the same time fraudulently used in larger quantities than what is absolutely necessary.

Considered, however, from the standpoint of a chemical student who investigates the subject of ascertaining the amount of metal that is lost in the operations of the goldsmith, the process of soldering is scarcely important enough to receive a separate treatment. The preparation of the solder and its reduction to the condition of small thin bits are embraced in the discussion of melting and hammering ; while the loss during the blowing operation, during which the reducing flame of an oil lamp is made to play upon the solder and the parts it is meant to join together, may be supposed to have been treated during the discussion of the subject of loss of gold by volatilisation. The fact that almost all solders contain a little zinc perhaps makes the loss in their case to be much greater than in that of an alloy of gold and copper only. The following three sets of figures give the weight of gold and the weight of solder before the

(1) *Indian Engineering*, XIX (1896). The Mechanical Operations of Melting and Hammering have been left out.

process of soldering and the weight of the article after the operation has been finished :—

Gold			Solder			Wt. of Gold & Solder after operation		
Tolas	annas	pies.	Tolas	annas	pies.	Tolas	annas	pies
6	0	0	1	0	0	6	15	0
2	0	0	0	8	0	2	7	13 4
3	8	0	1	4	0	4	10	3

Thus, on the whole a loss of $11\frac{1}{4}$ pies takes place in dealing with $14\frac{1}{4}$ tolas of materials. This gives the rate of loss at 79 pies per tola.

It is proper to observe that of the loss that takes place during soldering, about one-third is due to purely physical causes, *e.g.* the loss of pieces of solder which fly off before the blowpipe. The above figures are accordingly not to be supposed as affording an accurate estimate of the amount of material that is lost by vapourisation during the operation of soldering.

FILING AND CUTTING

These are the two operations of the goldsmith in the course of which gold is lost to an appreciable extent. The work of cutting is done by a class of men called *nakashivallas* to whom the articles are made over for the purpose. In recognition of the fact that loss of gold must inevitably take place during the operation of cutting, the goldsmith, when he takes back the articles and the particles that are chopped off the surface from the *nakashivallas*, generally makes an allowance of one pie per tola in favour of the latter.

The loss which takes place during the operation of cutting as well as the loss during filing, *i. e.* rubbing the surface of gold with a steel file to make it smooth, is due to causes of a purely mechanical nature and can be prevented to a great extent by the means suggested for minimising such loss in the course of hammering and drawing.

The operation of cutting is always, and that of filing some times, effected after the article has been coloured and polished. But as the chemical process of colouring will be treated of separately in the following pages, the mere mechanical operation

of cutting and filing are here put in for the purpose of preserving continuity.

THE CHEMICAL OPERATIONS OF THE GOLDSMITH:
CLEANSING, COLOURING AND POLISHING

We now come to a process which, though not so important in the eyes of the goldsmith as some of the processes before described, is yet of the greatest consequence in the enquiry in which we are engaged. This is the process of colouring.

If it were possible for our goldsmiths to work with pure gold, the appearance of the material would suffer very little by the various processes of heating, hammering, &c., and a mere mechanical rubbing would throw off the superficial dirt and be sufficient to expose the natural yellow surface of the unalloyed metal. This property of pure gold is due to the fact that no oxides of gold are formed at temperatures to which the metal is exposed during the operations of the goldsmith. Indeed it is well-known that gold does not unite with oxygen at any temperature.

But the case is different with copper, the oxide of which is formed at temperatures which are ordinarily attained by the goldsmith in the course of his operations. Hence, if a mass of copper is heated in the goldsmith's fire, it is divested of its bright red colour and acquires a dirty black appearance due to the formation of a coating of cupric oxide. Now, an alloy is nothing but an intimate mechanical mixture of its constituent metals—the molecules of the several metals lying promiscuously as it were. In an alloy of gold accordingly in which copper forms a constituent part, the particles of the latter are freely interspersed between those of gold. When such a substance is heated in air, the gold particles retain their primitive yellow, but the particles of copper, which are exposed to air, are oxidised into CuO . This substance is, as we know, a black amorphous powder and it gives to the whole mass a black appearance, which becomes darker as the metal is hammered over and the powder is thoroughly spread over the surface of the metal.

An interesting and rather curious experiment clearly illustrates the above explanation. If a piece of gold containing

a little copper be heated in air and care be taken not to rub the metal in any way so as to spread the black oxide of copper over the surface, it will be found that the metal, if free from external dirt or soot, will be still yellow and tolerably bright. The yellow of the more numerous gold particles overpowers the colour of the black oxide of copper. If, however, this black substance be spread over the surface of the metal, the colour instantly changes. The spreading of the oxide is easily brought about by hammering, and thus we can take an apparently bright piece of metal and, by hammering, reduce it to a jet black mass.

The ignorant goldsmiths explain this blackening by supposing the stain of the black steel hammer to adhere to the surface of gold.

We may, perhaps, in this connection mention a particular artifice which is sometimes employed by our goldsmiths to cleanse the surface of a gold and copper alloy, which has been blackened by fire. This method is employed whenever it is desirable in the course of working to expose the bright surface, but where it would be inconvenient, impossible or unnecessary to apply the long and laborious mode of cleansing or colouring which we shall hereafter describe. It is found that if a blackened piece of gold and copper alloy be heated in a charcoal fire to redness and then water be sprinkled on the fire, the alloy at once acquires the bright colour of gold. This phenomenon, though often practised by our goldsmiths, is a puzzle to the most intelligent among them. * * * * * The true explanation of the operation seems to be that, when placed in a charcoal fire, the cupric oxide is reduced to metallic copper. But if it is taken out when hot, it comes into contact with the air again and is oxidised. What the goldsmith does is to suddenly cool down the metal when in the reduced state and not to allow it to come into contact with the open air, until it has cooled sufficiently down, so as not to be liable to re-oxidisation.

From what has been stated above, it will be easily seen that when a piece of golden ornament has been completed by the manufacturer, it is of a dirty dark colour and must be cleansed before

it can be used. In this country mere cleansing is not sufficient, for the popular taste does not approve the new golden articles appearing and being used in the yellow colour of true gold. The articles must be "coloured" before they can be made over to the customer, by which is meant that a bright reddish colour must be imparted to them. The particular tinge which is liked by different persons is different, some people liking a colour verging very nearly on red or orange, while others have a fancy for a colour which approaches to reddish violet.

The process of imparting the requisite shade of colour to articles of gold is one of the most cumbrous and complicated chemical operations in the whole range of indigenous arts and manufactures of India. The numerous chemical reactions that take place in the several stages of the business are of more than ordinary interest ; while the immense loss of gold that apparently takes place leads one to wonder why the subject has not as yet been taken up seriously by commercial or scientific men.

The process of colouring, so recently as 20 years ago, was universally carried out by the goldsmiths themselves, and in the villages and smaller towns the state of affairs is still the same. But in the metropolis and at the bigger stations of the province, the advantages of the principle of division of labour have lately begun to be felt in every branch of art and manufacture, and the result, so far as this particular subject is concerned, has been the springing up of a class of people whose sole business is to colour ornaments and other articles of gold. These men are known among our goldsmiths as the *rungwalas*. They do not charge any remuneration for their labour, but retain the fluid in which, during the process of colouring, a quantity of gold is dissolved.

We will now follow the *rungwala* through the course of a complete set of processes for colouring, skipping over the mere mechanical parts of the work, but dealing a little fully with the portions which are of a chemical nature.

THE PROCESSES OF THE RUNGWALA

The shop of a Calcutta *rungwala* is one of the most miserably furnished working-places in the whole metropolis. A charcoal

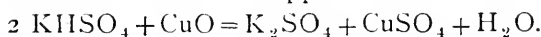
fire, a pair of bellows, a few crude pieces of indigenous earthenware, two or three coarse pots of China, together with a few other little things, are all that greet the eager sight of the observer whom business or curiosity leads to his dark and ill-ventilated den.

The *rungwala* has to wait till a sufficient number of golden articles are accumulated in his hands. He does not generally commence the process until he has got at least ten tolas of gold for colouring. Because the cost, the trouble and the time required, as he says, in going through a complete series of operations are such as to prohibit his doing the work with a smaller amount of gold at a time. Ordinarily a "khola", as the amount of gold coloured at one operation is called, consists of about 20 to 30 tolas of gold.

Having got the amount of gold sufficient for working a *khola*, the first thing that the *rungwala* has to do is to cleanse the articles of all external dirt as well as of the blackness due to the formation of CuO . With this view he first heats them in a charcoal fire, thus causing all the oil, charcoal dust, and other foreign substances on the surface to burn off. He next puts an earthen vessel on his fire and boils in it about a seer of the unripe fruit of tamarind (*Tamarindus Indica*), a substance containing considerable amount of tartaric and other acids in the free state. Taking out these boiled articles and squeezing them so as to extract the extremely acid pulp he forms a thick syrupy fluid. In this fluid he boils the articles till the dilute acids dissolve away the cupric oxide, leaving a yellow surface of pure gold. It is found that the solution of tamarind pulp becomes distinctly blue in virtue of the formation of copper salts.

In the place of this rather clumsy mode of cleansing, which is largely practised even in the metropolis, some of the more adventurous *rungwalas* use a rather more clever and neater method. Instead of preparing a large amount of tamarind pulp, they obtain from the grocer's an ounce or two of a dull white crystalline substance which they call "acid," and a solution of this serves equally well, if not better, for their purpose. To the question as to what the substance called "acid" is, they cannot give a satisfactory reply.

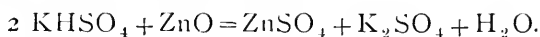
And even the grocer who sells it cannot enlighten the inquirer more than to this extent that the article is a *gād* (scum) or a bye-product in the manufacture of some acid. Having subjected the substance to a rough chemical analysis, we came to the conclusion that the substance could be nothing more nor less than KHSO_4 or hydric potassic sulphate, an acid salt and a bye-product, as we know, in the process of manufacturing nitric acid. The reaction of this substance on the copper seems to be this :—



The normal salt di-potassic sulphate, copper sulphate and water are formed.

What takes place in the gold as regards the particles of copper takes place also in the solder used as regards the particles of both zinc and copper that are on the surface.

The oxides of copper and zinc are acted on by the dilute acids of the tamarind or the hydric potassic sulphate as the case may be, and are dissolved away in the form of soluble salts. The reaction in the latter case is :—



As the solder contains a large amount of silver, its appearance after the copper and zinc have been dissolved away, is almost perfectly white, which appears rather prominent by the side of the bright yellow surface of gold.

The next operation of the *rungwala* is perhaps intended to carry on the operation of cleansing to a further extent. He takes about half a pound of common salt, and mixes it with an equal amount of ordinary potash alum, purchased from the bazar.

The mixture is then reduced to the form of a fine paste. The *rungwala* now covers each of the articles to be coloured with a thin layer of this paste of salt and alum and then places them on the fire. After the paste has dried up it is washed off with water, and generally the colour of the gold appears a little bit improved. The reason of this lies in the fact that the few particles of cupric oxide that remain on the surface and are not wholly dissolved out by dilute acid in the first operation are got rid of by this process.

After having been subjected to these two processes, the article

acquires almost perfectly the beautiful yellow of pure gold ; but as has been stated already, the *pān* or solder appears at the same time as white as pure silver. The contrast of these two different colours placed in close contiguity is rather marked ; and the next operation of the *ringwala* is intended to remedy this defect. In order to make the solder and the metal appear of the same colour, he actually covers the surface of the soldef with a layer of gold taken from the article itself. This is done in the course of the third process, which we will describe rather fully, as it is the most important of these stages of manipulation at which loss of gold takes place in considerable amount.

Having placed an open earthen vessel on his fire and having put some water in it, the *ringwala* prepares a mixture consisting of about four parts of nitre (say 1 lb.), one part of common salt and 1 part of alum (say $\frac{1}{4}$ lb each).¹ He then puts the mixture into the vessel, taking care always that the water in the vessel be not more than what is necessary for dissolving about half the amount of salts added. The solution is then heated till it boils, evolving large quantities of gases and fumes, amongst which chlorine can be easily detected by its unmistakable corroding odour.

In this boiling solution the goldsmith places the cleansed ornaments so as to keep them wholly immersed. He examines them from time to time and after a while finds that a layer of shining gold has formed on the surface of the white solder. When this deposit is sufficiently thick and the whole article presents the appearance of being formed out of a homogeneous material he takes them out and, washing them well, prepares them for the next operation.

CHEMICAL EXPLANATION

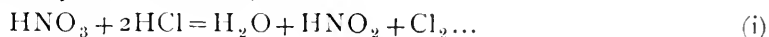
It is difficult to find out exactly the series of chemical reactions that take place during this period. Various impurities in the articles employed make the inquiry doubly complicated. It would, however, do for our purpose to investigate briefly the principal decompositions and formations that occur, and with

(1) Cf. pp. 40-41, under "killing of mercury and gold," where a mixture, among other ingredients, of alum, common salt and saltpetre technically called a *vida*, is used.

this view we may suppose the reagents employed to be chemically free from foreign substances.

It is well-known that if nitric and hydrochloric acids are brought together, certain reactions take place. If the acids be tolerably concentrated they act upon one another at ordinary temperature, the mixture becoming yellow and giving off minute bubbles of gas, smelling like chlorine. If the acids be dilute, we have to heat the mixture to bring about the chemical change. The action that takes place consists of two stages :—

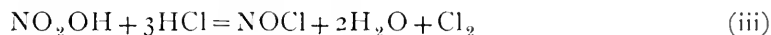
First, the oxygen from the nitric acid oxidizes the hydrogen of the hydrochloric acid, thus :—



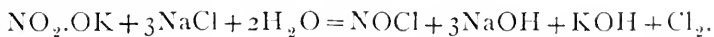
Secondly, the unstable nitrous acid that is formed acts on another molecule of HCl, producing a compound known as nitrosyl chloride and water, thus :—



The reactions (i) and (ii) when expressed by a single equation may be written as follows :—



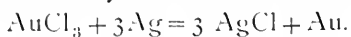
Now, here, instead of free nitric and hydrochloric acids, we have saturated solutions of a nitrate and a chloride, and an action similar to the above may take place under the influence of heat only, instead of of water, the hydrates of the metals present in the nitrate and the chloride are formed. Thus, instead of equation (iii) we may have the following action :—



When the solution boils and these actions set in, the *rungwala* puts the golden articles in it. The chlorine liberated as well as the chlorine in the nitrosyl chloride attacks the gold and reduces it to the form of a soluble chloride, which mixes with the mass of the fluid. The NO of the nitrosyl, which is liberated, is itself a colourless gas, but it rapidly unites with the oxygen of the air and forms the red fumes of nitrogens peroxide which, together with chlorine, are liberated in large quantities during the third stage of colouring.

Now we know that if a solution of gold chloride of sufficient strength is formed and a piece of silver is dipped into it, gold is

deposited on the surface of the silver, while a portion of the silver is worn away. The reaction is as follows :—



This reaction takes place in connection with the surface of the solder which is exposed. A layer of gold is formed upon it entirely hiding the white surface, so that to all appearance the whole article seems to be composed of the same material.

In the explanation given above, the use of alum that is added to make up the *jamak* (as the solution employed in the third stage described above is called) has not been shown, and indeed this point we have not been able to clear as satisfactorily as perhaps it is capable of.¹ It seems to undergo no chemical change, and hence does not act in the capacity of a mordant in this case, as it does so widely in the arts of dyeing or calico-printing. It is also found that if no alum is added to the *jamak*, the coating of gold on the solder is produced, but it adheres very lightly to the surface and does not stand such processes as rubbing or brushing. Hence it seems that the only function of the alum is to fix the coating, i.e. to make it adhere firmly to the surface of the solder. Experienced goldsmiths are also of opinion that, but for the alum, the gilding of the *pān* would not be permanent. The way in which this is done by the alum is to a certain extent a matter of conjecture. We suppose that the action is of a mere mechanical nature. When the particles of gold stick to the surface of the solder, small quantities of alum solution remain in the pores between the separate particles. These afterwards dry up and crystallise, and the minute crystals act as a sort of mortar between the particles of gold and the surface of the solder, as well as between the particles themselves.

The third process in the course of colouring is by far the most important source of loss of gold in the whole series of manipulations that the metal has to undergo. We have seen that the losses at all other stages are due to causes of a mere mechanical nature

(1) Mr. Chakravartī all along fails to realise the important part which alum plays in yielding sulphuric acid. Moreover in the above equation chlorine cannot be expected to be set free in presence of alkalies ; see below under "the Hindu method of manufacturing calomel."

and are necessarily small. In all these cases, the gold escapes the vigilant eye of the worker and hence the extent to which it is lost sight of is minute indeed. Here for the first time the gold undergoes a chemical change—it ceases to exist as gold altogether—and is consequently lost for ever to the illiterate goldsmith.

We should remark that only a very small part of the gold that is dissolved out in the *jamak*—as the solution of nitre, alum and salt used in the third stage described above is called—is re-deposited on the surface of the solder. A large portion of the gold remains in the solution as $\text{AuCl}_3 \cdot \text{NaCl} \cdot 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$. The helpless *rungwala* can do nothing with his valuable fluid but dispose it off for a trifling sum to a class of men called *jamakwalas* who have a crude method of their own to extract some quantity of the gold from the *jamak*. We shall return to the *jamakwala* subsequently. We must now proceed to the fourth or last stage of colouring, during which the requisite colour is imparted to the metal. The articles, after being extracted from the boiling *jamak* solution, are thoroughly washed and rubbed with a brush, after which another bath is prepared for them. This consists of a solution of tamarind pulp, nitre and common salt in water, which is placed in an earthen pot on fire and heated to ebullition. A little sulphur is then added after which the articles are placed in the liquid. The sulphur is added in a finely divided state, obtained by rubbing a stick of sulphur with a little water on a piece of slate. Care is always taken to add an insufficient amount of sulphur at first, for it is found that the shade of colour that is produced in the gold depends solely on the quantity of this ingredient, which accordingly requires exceedingly careful regulation. The *rungwala* now examines the colour from time to time, adding more sulphur gradually if he wants the colour to deepen. When the requisite shade of colour is reached, he stops adding the sulphur and keeps on boiling for some time more, after which he takes the articles off the solution and gives them a final wash and polish. If too much sulphur is added in this operation the colour becomes deep violet and finally black, and the whole process is vitiated. Under the circumstances the *Rungwala* has to recommence the work from the very beginning.

It may be noticed that the acid or the commercial hydric potassic sulphate is never used in this stage, as it is used in the first, instead of the tamarind pulp. The reason seems to be that as nitre is also present in the mixture, the addition of KHSO_4 , in the presence of other substances, may result in the formation of nitric acid under the influence of heat.

The chemical actions that take place during the fourth or last stage of colouring seems to be extremely difficult of explanation. There can be little doubt, however, as to the fact that the reddish violet colour is due to the deposition of a thin layer of some compound of gold on the surface of the articles. It is the determination of this compound and of the exact nature of the process by which it is formed that presents all the difficulty.

The fact that the sulphur is one of the most essential things that are required in the production of the colour would seem strongly to suggest at the first glance that the reddish violet tint is due to the formation of one of the sulphides of gold. It appears that the subject and constitution of the compounds of gold and sulphur is one which has not yet been fully investigated by chemists. But it seems to be a well-established fact that no sulphide of gold is known which is of any other colour than black. This stands in the way of our accepting the hypothesis that the reddish violet colour of gold obtained by the Indian goldsmith is due to the formation of a layer of sulphide on the surface. From the fact that if the colouring is allowed to be overdone *i. e.* if the articles be boiled further after the required tint has been obtained, the gold acquires a deep violet colour, the same conclusion is arrived at.

Accordingly, in spite of the fact that the amount of sulphur added regulates the whole operation of the last stage of colouring, we are constrained to search for the reddish violet colour that is developed in the formation of some other compound than a sulphide. The nature of the colour being the same as would be produced by a thin layer of a violet substance on a yellow surface, it follows that the colour of the compound formed must be violet. And the fact that when the colour is overdone, *i. e.* when a thick layer of the coloured substance is formed on the surface,

the appearance of the metal is dark violet, abundantly confirms the hypothesis. The only compound of gold that possesses this characteristic colour being aurous oxide Au_2O , we are forced to the conclusion that the colour of gold is due to the formation of a thin layer of suboxide on the surface of the metal.

An examination into the nature of the chemical actions that take place during the operation clearly shows that Au_2O is the compound formed. We have seen in investigating the chemical changes during the third stage of colouring that KNO_3 and NaCl being heated together, yield free chlorine together with KOH and NaOH . This chlorine after being liberated in the fourth stage attacks the gold and a small amount of auric chloride is formed. But at this point sulphur is added, and the nascent chlorine, instead of going to attack the gold any more, combines with the sulphur to form one or more of the sulphur chlorides. The supply of fresh chlorine being thus cut off, the heated auric chloride decomposes into aurous chloride and chlorine. The chlorine thus liberated combines with the sulphur, while the aurous chloride is acted on by the KOH and NaOH with the result that Au_2O is formed.¹ This is partly deposited on the surface of the gold producing the required colour and partly mixed with the saline solid matter present in the solution.

The series of chemical reactions may be expressed by formula as follows :—

- (1) $\text{KNO}_3 + 3\text{NaCl} + 2\text{H}_2\text{O} = \text{NOCl} + 3\text{NaOH} + \text{KOH} + \text{Cl}_2$;
this reaction itself consists of two stages as explained before.
- (2) $3\text{Cl} + \text{Au} = \text{AuCl}_3$
- (3) $2\text{Cl} + \text{S}_2 = \text{S}_2\text{Cl}_2$ (SCl_2 may also be formed in the presence of excess of nascent chlorine).
- (4) $\text{AuCl}_3 = \text{AuCl} + \text{Cl}_2$
- (5) $2 \text{AuCl} + 2\text{KOH} = \text{Au}_2\text{O} + 2\text{KCl} + \text{H}_2\text{O}$.

(1) The explanation is scarcely satisfactory ; it may be taken for what it is worth.

It will be observed from the above formula that the addition of sulphur is indispensable in this operation. If the excess of chlorine were not removed by sulphur, as is done in (3) above, the gold would continue to be dissolved out and a large loss of the metal would arise as in the course of the third stage.

Moreover, with a free supply of chlorine, the auric chloride would never be reduced to aurous chloride, and thus no formation of aurous oxide could take place. It is thus seen that, though the sulphur used is not directly contained in the compound which gives the colour, it regulates the whole reaction in the most important stages of its progress.

The above hypothesis is supported by the fact that if a little sulphur is added to the fluid obtained in the fourth stage of colouring, it will be found to dissolve in the fluid. This could not be the case unless a compound like S_2Cl_2 , which can hold sulphur in solution, were formed during the re-action.

It has been mentioned above that the loss during the third operation of colouring is considerable. Indeed, from the records of observation given at the end of this section, it is clear that the loss is not only large, but that its extent is also uncertain in the extreme. In some cases it is as low as half a pie per tola, while in others it reaches the ruinous figure of six pies per tola, or nearly one tenth of the whole weight. The average amount of $2\frac{1}{2}$ pies per tola, which is obtained from our figures, is not very different from the idea of experienced *rungwalas* and goldsmiths on the subject. The largeness and uncertainty of loss are easily accounted for by the ever-varying constitution of the bazar articles used in the operation, some of them being very nearly pure, while others contain as much as 25 to 30 per cent of impurities, as well as by the want of any accurate precision as regards the proportion of materials employed. The ingredients are seldom weighed before being mixed together; and the varying amount of water present physically in the salts is an additional source of error and confusion in settling the proportion by mere inspection of bulk.

The following figures will give some idea as to the magnitude of the loss in colouring:—

Weight before colouring.			Weight after colouring.			Loss.
Tolas.	Annas	Pies.	Tolas.	Annas.	Pies.	Pies.
6	10	0	6	7	15	105
3	2	0	2	14	1	15
12	12	1	12	5	3	26
5	3	2	5	2	0	6
3	0	2	2	12	0	18

THE RESTORATIVE PROCESSES

Having in the previous paragraphs described with tolerable fulness the various sources of loss of gold in the course of its artistic manipulation by the Indian goldsmith and having in each case pointed out the form in which the metal escapes the hold of the worker, we will now turn our eyes to the methods which now obtain in our country for recovering, as far as possible, the amount of material which is lost. It is perhaps worth while here to point out that to re-obtain the entire amount of lost material is absolutely impossible from the innate property of the extreme divisibility of matter; and our sole object in these restorative operations should be to secure the recovering of the largest amount of metal that can possibly be saved. There are two small classes of men in Bengal who obtain their living by extracting gold from the refuse and bye-products of the goldsmith's workshop. These are the *ncharwala* and the *jamakwala* before alluded to. These classes of men are found to cluster in the suburbs of large towns and important centres of jewelry manufacture. In the smaller towns and more insignificant villages, the bye-products have either to be thrown away or to be disposed of in the best manner that the goldsmith can hit upon. Not unfrequently in such cases the goldsmith himself undertakes to play the part of a *jamakwala* and *ncharwala* to the best of his abilities. But the unpractised manipulation of processes, which are themselves far from being satisfactory is sure to result always in the loss of a large portion of gold.

We will now proceed to describe the operations of the *ncharwala* and the *jamakwala*. It may, however, be remarked here

that the immense difficulty in the way of obtaining the slightest information regarding the indigenous methods adopted by these workmen, in the exercise of their profession, can hardly be appreciated by one who has not personally made an attempt to penetrate into the mysteries of any of the trade or manufacturing secrets of India. The unfortunate stagnation of almost all departments of knowledge, art and industry in India that perplexes and mortifies an inquirer, owes its origin to a long-standing and universal spirit of conservatism inherent in our people which, however eloquently defended by orthodox advocates of caste, is manifestly one of the principal causes why the Indian craftsman lags so far behind in the modern race of nations. The healthy broadness of views, resulting from the dissemination of liberal English ideas among the masses, has, indeed, broken some of the most pernicious strongholds of the intellectual monopolies of India; but there are classes of men who still in obscure nooks of society keep to themselves what they regard as the treasures of professional secrets but what, after all, may be mere child's play to the eyes of the scientific world.

To our enquiries about the nature of the *neharwala* and the *jamakwala* the deafest ears were turned. Our attempts to impress upon these people the necessity of the application of chemistry to improve their methods were mere cries in the wilderness. And it was not until we had spent several weeks in constant intercourse with these people that we could begin to collect the information necessary for such an inquiry. Bit by bit we gained from different sources some knowledge of the processes which are given below in a continuous and well-arranged form.

THE NEHARWALA

Now and then the *neharwala* makes his appearance in the goldsmith's workshop, in order to obtain the collected sweepings and other refuse of the rooms. The interval of time varies from one to three months according to the nature of the work that is carried on in the rooms as well as to the amount of gold that is manufactured into ornaments. It is useful to state here that every day before work is commenced, the room is swept very

clean and the sweepings, instead of being thrown away, are carefully stored up in a corner.

The heap of dust and rubbish thus accumulated from day to day is the chief object of the visit of the *neharwala*. Having inquired as to the amount of gold that has undergone manipulation since the last disposal of sweepings or *nehar* (from this the *neharwala* gets his name) as well as the nature of the articles that were manufactured, he proceeds to settle the price which depends chiefly on these conditions. The *nehar* of twenty tolas of good gold manufactured into articles, which required drawing, beating as well as soldering, would generally be disposed of for a single rupee. It may be interesting to observe that a goldsmith, however dishonest in other respects, would never deceive a *neharwala* by selling to him a heap of ordinary rubbish for fear of losing credit and custom in the department of *nehar-selling*.

The next thing that the *neharwala* wants to obtain is the heap of rejected crucibles.

It has been stated before that indigenous crucibles cannot be employed more than once for melting purposes, and hence the number of waste crucibles is not small in our goldsmith's workshop. The nature of the crucibles and the amount of metal melted in each, together with the qualities of the gold, settle the price. We have seen a score of crucibles of average size selling for eight annas.

If the goldsmith's shop is large, the soot hanging from the ceiling and walls is also purchased.

The last thing that the *neharwala* asks the shopkeeper is whether that day he would give a *taljhar*, by which is meant if he would allow the workmen's mats to be removed and shaken and the space below the mats swept. This operation is ordinarily performed once a year. The sweepings thus obtained are again valued. And after paying the prices, the *neharwala* returns home with his heavy load, which sometimes reaches the respectable weight of 50 or 60 pounds.

The first thing that the *neharwala* does with his materials is to crush them fine. This is only necessary when earthen lumps of large size are formed and mixed up with the *nehar* in considerable numbers and is dispensed with in most cases

where the large pieces are few in number and can be picked up and thrown away.

The second process is to throw the crushed materials into a big earthen pot in which the *nehar* remains immersed in water for a certain number of days, depending on the quality and quantity of the *nehar*. The object of this is to reduce fragments of clay to a fine state of division by which particles of gold that might otherwise remain imbedded inside the mass of earthy lumps are at once exposed to view.

The next and the main operation is that of working. The thoroughly soaked *nehar* is put in large earthen vessels and more water is added if necessary. The mass is then thoroughly stirred and the lighter earthy material, which yet floats when the heavy metallic matter has settled in the bottom, is taken off. By the repetition of this process the solid matter is reduced to a very small bulk. It is then allowed to settle and the water is slowly poured off. The moisture that yet remains is dried up either on fire or in the sun.

When several *nehars* have been separately washed in the preceding way, the remnants of all the washings are mixed together and the mixture is washed once again. This operation is exactly like the preceding but is carried on more carefully and in better vessels. When it has been completed, about one-quarter of the mixture may be perceived to consist of metallic substances.

Among the metals present in this mixture, iron is often found and, as its presence is extremely undesirable when the materials are placed on the crucible for melting, it is generally got rid of at this stage. Formerly this was done by picking up the separate bits of iron by fine pincers, but now-a-days the magnet is almost universally used for the purpose.

The next process is that of melting. This is carried on in the ordinary way, care being taken to procure a crucible big enough for the purpose. The earthy matter sticks to the sides of the crucible, while the metallic portion melts and falls to the bottom. A mixture of gold, silver, copper and zinc is thus obtained.

The old method of obtaining pure gold from such a mixture as this is said to have been as curious and interesting as certainly it

was laborious and protracted. The alloy was first of all beaten into leaves of extreme thinness, about 5 inches square in size. Each leaf was then covered with a thin layer of a paste of brick dust and common salt. The leaves were finally arranged one above another and exposed to the heat of fire. After a certain number of days, depending on the nature of the alloy and the temperature of the fire, the gold was found to be very nearly pure.

This method has now, however, been entirely superseded by the far easier and more economical process of treating the alloy with strong nitric acid. For this purpose, however, the metal must be obtained in a fine state of division. This is done rather ingeniously by melting the material and, while molten, by suddenly dropping it in water. By this means the metal is at once reduced to a fine powder without the expenditure of any manual labour in the way of hammering. Care, however, should always be taken to see that the vessel of water in which the molten metal is dropped has a wide mouth. On one occasion, at which we were present, the liquid metal was poured into a narrow-mouthed vessel, and the steam suddenly generated was so great and powerful as to very nearly cause an explosion.

The extraction of gold from rejected crucibles is done much in the same fashion. These are pulverised and treated in the same way as ordinary *nehar*. Sometimes the powders of crucibles are mixed up with the common *nehar* to avoid the necessity of a separate series of operations, but more frequently the smallness of their bulk induces the *neharwala* to treat them separately.

THE JAMAKWALA

We will now turn our attention to the methods of the *jamakwala*. He periodically visits the workshops of his patron, the *rungwala*, from whom he obtains the necessary amount of *jamak* on the payment of a price which depends on the quality and the quantity of gold that has been coloured, as well as the loss of weight that has taken place in the articles during their make. To give an approximate idea of the commercial value of *jamak* it may suffice to state that we once purchased a *jamak* of 20 tolas of sovereign gold (which is 22 carats or 916.66 per mille fine) for one rupee only.

We may also observe that the demand of *jamak* is not at present at par with the amount of its supply ; and at some of the bigger *rungwala's* working-rooms, one may see big earthen jars full of this substance, collected and stored up for want of purchasers. It may be interesting to add that even in this obscure department of business, the evil genius of man has set to work, and one has to be careful in dealing with a *jamakwala*, if one is a new hand in these affairs.¹ On one occasion we happened to be defrauded and were given a substance as a *jamak* of 35 tolas of gold for what we considered the modest price of Rs. 2. But the thing turned out to be an imitation *jamak* only and all our best efforts could not discover in it the slightest trace of gold.

Having obtained a sufficient amount of this fluid the *jamakwala* returns home. His first step is to get rid of the fluid part of the *jamak* by boiling it. For this purpose he has got large earthen vessels with wide mouths which can be placed over a fire. When almost the whole amount of water has been evaporated off, he pours out the viscous mass into an open earthen vessel and proceeds to what we shall call the second process of the *jamakwala*.

With the solid matter of the *jamak* obtained by the first operation, the *jamakwala* mixes a small quantity of borax as well as a large amount of a substance known as *poonoor*. The weight of powdered *poonoor* that is thus added is about four times the weight of the *jamak* matter. Having thoroughly mixed these substances with such an amount of cow-dung as is required to give consistency to the material, he forms them into balls of about two or three inches in diameter. He then dries these balls and when perfectly dried they are ready for the third process.

The *poonoor* employed in the above process is a hard quasi-metallic substance that can be purchased from certain grocers at the rate of three or four seers per rupee. It is, they say, nothing but a bye-product in the operation of *rupā-pākāno* by

¹ It may be observed, however, that a *rungwala* would never deceive a *jamakwala* in the same way as he would deceive a stranger for fear of losing credit and custom in the department of jamak-selling.

which is meant the operation of chemically purifying silver which has been alloyed with a large amount of copper and other metals. The usual method of conducting this operation in our country is to mix up the alloy with a large amount of lead and after melting the whole mass to blow air from above. [This operation, as also the next one, is practically that of cupellation]. The pure silver, it is found, separates in the course of the operation and collects at the bottom, while the partially oxidized lead, together with the impurities which existed originally in the silver, constitutes the *poonoor* of trade. We analysed qualitatively a sample of ordinary bazar *poonoor* by the wet way after dissolving it in nitric acid and found it to contain lead, copper and zinc with traces of silver and iron.

The third process of the *jamakwala* is the main step in the reduction of gold. He scoops out on the earth in an open place a hollow of the shape of a hemisphere about a foot in diameter, and having thoroughly smoothed the interior of this hollow, he covers it with a layer of slaked lime about half an inch thick. After the lime has dried, it presents the appearance of a coarse white china vessel, imbedded in the earth. In this the balls prepared by the second process are placed. The *jamakwala* then forms a powerful charcoal fire over it and with two or three large pairs of bellows causes the flame to play on the mass below. The lead of the *poonoor* is soon reduced and dissolves, as it were, the reduced gold, silver and copper. A large metallic mass thus collects at the bottom of the hollow, consisting mainly of lead. The blowing is now continued as hard as possible from above and the metal being oxidised to litharge begins to be blown off. The process must be continued till the whole of the lead has passed off and a mixture of gold, silver and copper remains behind. Care should always be taken in this operation to see that the last trace of lead is thoroughly got rid of; for nothing affects so much the ductility and malleability—virtues most important for the purposes of the goldsmith—of gold as a mixture ever so little of lead. Thus “one two-thousandth part renders the metal too brittle for rolling and its very fumes produce a serious effect upon it.”¹

(1) Maunder's Treasury of Science, Article : Gold.

Such is the tedious length and such the laborious and complicated nature of the processes by which the *nehariwala* and the *jamakwala* extract precious metal from the large heaps of rejected sweepings and dirt and bye-products of the goldsmith's workshop. But their labours have only the empirical experience of years to guide them and not the acuteness of a well trained scientific mind; and accordingly we find that a large portion of their work is directed to achieve in a laborious and round-about way an object which a slight knowledge of chemistry enables us to secure in the simplest manner imaginable.

With a view to shorten the labours of the *jamakwala* as far as possible, we began a series of experiments, investigating the properties of the *jamak* and trying to find out the easiest mode of extracting gold therefrom. As the results of our experiments we have found that, working on ordinary plans in the wet way, we can recover an amount of gold, which is equal to, if not in all cases greater than, the quantity which the *jamakwala* can obtain by his expensive and protracted methods.

We need scarcely give the properties and the constituents of the various specimens of *jamak* which we obtained from the bazar from time to time for experimental purposes. The way in which a *jamak* is formed having been before described in full, the results of analyses will be nothing but tedious. It will be sufficient to observe that in all cases the *jamak* was a clear greenish yellow liquid of rather thick consistency with a large mass of grey solid matter at the bottom consisting almost wholly of soluble saline matter.

It may be also added that among bases, silver, copper, zinc, gold, aluminium, potassium and sodium were the principal ones that were found; while amongst the acids present, nitric, sulphuric and hydrochloric were recognised in large quantities. Traces of free chlorine could also be found in some of the solution, while perceptible amounts of iron were found in almost all.

The microscopic appearance of *jamak* may be interesting as showing the exact state in which gold exists in the solution. With this view we examined under a microscope (magnifying 375 times) a drop of a clear solution of *jamak* as well as an amount of the solid saline matter lying at the bottom. The appearance,

in both cases was the same, only in the latter the crystals were more numerous and closer together. The octahedra of alum with occasional facets of cubes, the long furrowed and rhombic prisms of nitre and the cubes of common salt were very prominent. Between these, in numbers far less, could be discovered long, transparent needles. These were most probably crystals of double chloride of gold and sodium which is invariably formed when a solution of auric chloride is mixed with chloride of sodium. The constitution of this substance is $\text{AuCl}_3 \cdot \text{NaCl} + 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$, and it is the commercial "non-deliquescent chloride of gold" which is ordinarily sold in one gramme tubes.

Besides the above crystals, we frequently found amorphous particles, wholly or partially opaque. Those that did not transmit light at all were in all probability particles of dust or other earthy matter which were present in the ingredients in the shape of impurities. But there were others which transmitted a beautiful green light and these were likely to be fine particles of gold. As these were rather few in number, it might be inferred that in the *jamak*, gold existed chiefly in combination. It is also probable that the greatest part exists as $\text{NaAuCl}_4 + 2\text{H}_2\text{O}$.

From a liquid containing such a variety of substances in solution as the *jamak* does, it is no doubt a difficult task to precipitate the gold which is present perhaps in the minutest quantity of all. The reducing agents that are mentioned by chemists as suited for reducing gold from solutions are exceedingly numerous. Of those that are practically employed, the principal ones are ferrous sulphate, oxalic acid, sulphurous acid and metallic iron. We tried each of these in a large number of cases and found that ferrous sulphate gives the best result of all. The reaction that takes place during reduction by ferrous sulphate is something like the following:—

$2\text{AuCl}_3 + 6\text{FeSO}_4 = 2\text{Au} + 2\text{Fe}_2(\text{SO}_4)_3 + \text{Fe}_2\text{Cl}_6$. The gold is precipitated as a fine, heavy, black powder and easily settles at the bottom.

At first we used the pure material obtained from the chemists for precipitating *jamak*; but afterwards found that the crude article of the bazar, after being dissolved in water and filtered, yields a solution which serves equally well.

This makes the process a matter of very little expense and with an anna worth of good crystals of *hirakash* (the Bengali name of ferrous sulphate), a *jamak* containing 8 annas weight (for about Rs. 14 worth) of gold can be satisfactorily extracted.

We are far from thinking that in our experimental attempts to extract gold, we were able to catch the whole of the material that was present in the solution. It is very probable that in the fine state of division, in which the precipitation takes place, a considerable amount of the metal is washed away in the process of collection. But this loss is due to causes of a mere physical nature and can be prevented to a large extent by the use of better and more refined instruments.

It has, however, been ascertained that even with rough instruments the easy and inexpensive mode of wet working gives as good results as the laborious and costly method of the *jamakwala*. The indigenous worker thinks himself fortunate if the amount of gold which he extracts is of twice the value of the *jamak* from which it is obtained, and we are convinced from the results of repeated experiments that the wet method promises in general no less than twice the amount of profit with the advantage of saving time, labour and expense.

CONCLUSION

The importance of the subject that has been described and discussed in the major portion of the preceding pages is far greater than it appears to be at the outset. Month after month, in Calcutta and in the larger towns of Bengal, considerable quantities of gold undergo transformation under the goldsmith's hammer; and as every article so manufactured is coloured before being used, the amount of *jamak* that is produced must be large indeed. By a rough calculation we have estimated that about 3500 persons earn their bread in Calcutta by following the occupation of a manufacturing Jeweller; and allowing for holidays, illness and want of work it may be safely held that about 2,000 hammers ply on an average every day on gold and silver within the boundaries of Calcutta and its suburbs. Out of these 2,000 hands 1,500 may be supposed to work on the more precious metal of gold alone. On the modest calculation that a man works one-

half of a tola of gold in the course of a day, 750 tolas of golden articles are turned out every day in the metropolis. Supposing as we have pointed out before that in colouring only one-half of an anna of weight of gold is dissolved out into the *jamak* per tola, as much as 375 annas or more than 23 tolas of gold are every day dissolved in Calcutta alone. As has been shown before, we have ample reasons to believe that the *jamakwala* can seldom get out as much as one-half the amount of gold that exists in the *jamak* by his crude and imperfect methods. Granting however that he can reclaim so much as two-thirds of the gold lost in colouring, we are still forced to the astonishing conclusion that seven tolas of gold are absolutely lost in the town of Calcutta alone with the lapse of each day.

There can be little doubt that if the whole of the *jamak* that is now thrown away or otherwise washed could be collected and worked on the lines suggested by the newest and the most refined chemical methods, no less than three fourths of the entire loss could be reclaimed. This would amount to some thing like 15 or 16 lakhs of rupees per annum in these hard days of struggle for existence.

This is not the place for giving even the outlines of any elaborate scheme by which the collection of *jamak* and the extraction of gold therefrom may be carried out in practice on an extensive scale.

Business may be commenced at once by setting up a laboratory fitted up for the purpose after the latest fashion, at a convenient station in the centre of the Province and by purchasing the *jamak* that has already accumulated in the hands of the *rungwala*. In the meanwhile agencies may be established in every district for the purchase and storage of *jamak*. When the accumulated *jamak* is all exhausted, these agencies will be able to feed the laboratory continually by the supply of fresh *jamak* from time to time, from all parts of the country.

NOTE ON THE SALTS. ¹

Romaka, also called Sākambarī, is the salt produced from the Sambar Lake near Ajmere. (Dutt).

(1) See pp. 15, 24 and 71.

Sauvarchala : see under saltpetre.

Audbhida (lit., begot of the soil) is the name applied to the saline deposit commonly known as the *reh* efflorescence. It consists "chiefly of sodium chloride and sulphate in varying proportions. In addition there are sometimes carbonate of soda, and we have usually found some magnesian sulphate. In certain localities the last named salt is in very considerable proportion. In other cases nitrate of lime or alkali is present."

"The efflorescences thus produced consist of three groups : 1st, the neutral, which contain no carbonate of soda (these consist chiefly of sodium chloride and sulphate, and frequently magnesium sulphate); 2nd, the alkaline chlorides and sulphates, but no lime or magnesian salt; 3rd, the nitrous efflorescences."—Dr. Center's Note on *Reh* quoted in Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India. Vol. VI. Part I. pp. 410-417.

We have thus a ready explanation of the conversion of mercury and other metals into their chlorides when they were heated in combination with *audvida* and other salts (see p. 26). The magnesium sulphate would readily yield sulphuric acid, which with sodium chloride and nitre, might be expected to produce aqua regia; (for further information see under *rasakarpūra* or the chlorides of mercury).

Vida or *Vit* is at present taken to be the same substance as the *Kālānimak* or "black salt"; it is difficult to ascertain what it stood for at the time of the Charaka and the Susruta. The following account is given in Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India. "BLACK SALT is prepared in upper India chiefly at Bhewani in the Hissar district by heating together in a large earthen pot 82lb of common salt, one pound of the fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, and one pound of *Phyllanthus emblica*, and one pound of *sajji* (impure carbonate of soda), until by fusion of the salt the ingredients are well mixed, when the pot is removed from the fire and its contents allowed to cool and form a hard cellular mass. This preparation is used medicinally principally as a digestive." The salt has a reddish brown colour and consists mainly of sodium chloride with traces of sodium sulphate, alumina, magnesia, ferric oxide and sulphide of iron. Most of the samples, we have examined, were found to evolve minute quantities of

sulphuretted hydrogen when treated with an acid: even when placed in the mouth the *taste* of this gas was distinctly felt. It is very probable that when the saline mass is fused with the organic matter [T. chebula], a portion of the sodium sulphate is reduced to sulphide, which by double decomposition, converts the traces of iron salt present into the sulphide. The sulphide was detected both in the insoluble residue (as FeS) as well as in the aqueous extract.

In the Chemistry of Bubacar, the following salts are mentioned:—

La *classe des sels* renferme onze espèces: le sel commun, que l'on mange, le sel pur, le sel amer, employé par les orfèvres, le sel rouge¹, le sel de naphte², le sel gemme proprement dit, le sel indien³, le sel alcalin⁴, le sel d'urine, le sel de cendres⁵, le sel de chaux⁶. (La Chimie au moyen âge, T. I. p. 308).

It will be seen, however, that the last 3 or 4 products are in Hindu Chemistry very properly placed under the *kshāras* or the alkalies (p. 24).

NOTE ON THE KILLING OF METALS

From the time of the Charaka and the Susruta we find metallic preparations in the shape of oxides, sulphides and sometimes chlorides recommended for internal administration. The various formulas, which will be found scattered throughout above, give us methods for *killing* the metals.⁷ But a *killed* metal is not necessarily a compound; it sometimes means a metal deprived of its well characterised physical properties, *e.g.* colour, lustre &c. Thus the Ayurvedic *killed* gold and silver often represent the respective metals in a fine state of division. Take for instance the following recipe from *Rasaratnākara* by Nityanātha:—"Rub gold leaf with 4 times its weight of *killed* mercury (*i.e.* sulphide

(1) Sel gemme coloré.

(2) Sel gemme bitumineux.

(3) Salpêtre?

(4) Carbonate de soude.

(5) Carbonate de potasse.

(6) Potasse caustique impure.

(7) See pp. 16-17, 26, 40-41.

of mercury) and sublime the mixture in a closed crucible. On repeating the process 8 times, the gold is killed." (Cf. also the processes described in pp. 58-59). In the preparation of *makaradvaja* (p. 73, note), the gold, which is left behind, would be regarded in the same light. As the Hindu Iatro-chemists were very particular about the *killing* of the metals being ensured, they had often to hit upon proper tests for securing this purpose. Thus *Rasaratnākara* says:—"In order to examine whether the mercury has been completely reduced to ashes, it has to be heated over a gentle fire for 3 hours. If the weight remains constant, know then that it has been completely killed." In other words it means that if there be any free mercury present, it would volatilise off and thus there would be a loss in weight. In page 66 will also be found some tests for *killed* iron. The language of a portion of couplets 25-28 is somewhat obscure and the meaning seems to be the very reverse of what the context would suggest; "*killed iron is that which, on being mixed with treacle..... honey and heated, does not revert to the natural state.*" By "natural state" the author probably conveys *the state in which it originally was, i.e.* of an oxide, as immediately below he figuratively speaks of *the resurrection of the dead* (p. 67). Indeed, the ideas of the alchemists of the East and the West ran so closely on parallel lines that the best commentary we can offer to the above is the following extract from Hoefer's work, describing the notions current among the old Egyptians.

"*Expérience.* On brûle, on calcine du plomb ou tout autre métal (excepté l'or et l'argent) au contact de l'air. Le métal perd aussitôt ses propriétés caractéristiques, et se transforme en une substance pulvérulente, en une espèce de cendre ou de chaux. En reprenant ces cendres, qui sont, comme on disait, le résultat de la *mort du métal*, et en les chauffant dans un creuset avec des grains de froment, on voit bientôt le métal renaître de ses cendres, et reprendre sa forme et ses propriétés premières.

"*Conclusion* :—Le métal, que le feu détruit, est *revivifié*¹ par les grains de froment et par l'action de la chaleur. (T. I. p. 228).

(1) Les mots *revivifier*, *revivification* sont encore aujourd'hui employés comme synonymes de *réduction*, de *désoxydation*.

"N'est-ce pas là opérer le miracle de la résurrection?"

T. I. p. 228

Other "experiences" as well as technical terms have also their exact analogues in the language of the Western alchemists. Thus side by side with the "tests for killed mercury" (p. 41) and the "process for the fixation of mercury" (p. 73) we may quote :

"Viennent ensuite toutes sortes de recettes pour la "combustion" de l'argent, de l'or, du cuivre, de l'étain, etc., faisant parfois double emploi avec le livre II. Rappelons ici que le mot *combustion* signifiait la calcination des métaux en présence de diverses matières spécialement le soufre, le mercure, les sulfures métalliques, etc. Les produits en étaient dès lors fort multiples."—La Chimie au moyen âge, I. p. 309.

"La calcination du mercure était appelée à cette époque coagulation ou fixation du métal." *Ibid*, p. 154.

The passage in *Rasārṇava*, describing the efficacy of the apparatus, especially the line "without the use of herbs and drugs mercury can be killed with the aid of an apparatus alone" (p. 37) is highly significant. It refers no doubt to the formation of the red oxide of mercury, the precipitate *per se*. Cf. "Il s'agit de la fabrication de l'oxyde de mercure préparé *per se*, c'est-à-dire sans addition d'aucun corps étranger." *Ibid*, p. 154

ON THE HINDU METHOD OF MANUFACTURING CALOMEL ;

THE HINDU AND JAPANESE METHODS COMPARED—

THE EXPLANATION OF THE REACTIONS INVOLVED

According to the Hindu alchemists, there are four kinds of the ash (*bhasma*) of mercury, namely black (*kajjali*, p. 34), red (vermilion), white and yellow.¹ The white variety is often spoken of as *rasakarṣṇa* or camphor of mercury ; it is often found to be almost pure calomel and sometimes a mixture in indefinite proportions of calomel and corrosive sublimate.

The chlorides of mercury are found to be medicinally used from the 12th century downwards and various recipes are given

¹ कृष्णभस्म, रक्तभस्म, or रसमिन्दुरः ; श्वेतभस्म and पीतभस्म—*Uṭṭar Rāśanḍasāra* संग्रहः ; what the *yellow ash* refers to is not easy to make out.

for their preparation. The earliest account seems to occur in *Rasārṇava* (ch. XI. 24), where we find a mixture among other drugs of green vitriol, alum and salt, described as capable of "killing mercury in an instant" (see pp. 40-41). A more detailed description is found in *Rasendrachintāmaṇi*, a work which may safely be placed in the 13th-14th century. Says the author Dhundhukanātha: "I am now going to explain the process of preparing *rasakarpūra* which is a remedy for all diseases: take a strong earthen pot and fill one-fourth of it with common salt and place over it a mixture of brick dust, alum and rock salt. Rub mercury with the juice of Indian aloe and an equal weight of the above mixture into a paste; deposit it in the earthen pot and cover it with the same ingredients. The pot is to be firmly closed with a well-fitting lid. Now apply heat for 3 days together." ¹

Another work of the Iatro-chemical period, *Rasendrasārasamgraha*, describes the following process for obtaining the *śveta-bhashma* or (white ash). "Rub mercury repeatedly with *pāmsu* salt (i.e. *andvida* salt: see p. 134) and the juice of *Euphorbia neriifolia*; place the mixture inside an iron bottle, the mouth of which is closed with a piece of chalk. The bottle is embedded in a mass of salt (cf. the salt-bath, p. 69) and then fire is urged for an entire day. The white deposit in the neck of the bottle is to be collected." ²

The *Bhāvaprakāśa*, written about 1550 A. D., prescribes calomel in the treatment of *Phiringa-roga* (lit. the disease of the

(1) सर्वरोगहरौ कर्पूरप्रक्रिया—

स्थाल्यां दृढघटितायामङ्गं परिपृष्य तुष्यलवणांशैः ।

रक्तेष्टकारजाभिस्तदुपरि मृतस्य तुर्यांशम् ॥

सितमैश्वरं निधाय स्फटिकारौ तत्समं च तस्याङ्गु ।

स्फटिकारिधवलमैश्वरगङ्गरमैः कन्यास्तुपरिघटैः ॥

क्रत्वा पपेटमुचितं तदुपस्थाधाय तद्वदेव पुनः ।

स्फटिकारिमैश्वरजी दद्यादितः खलतो रसस्य ॥

लाभाय तदुपरि पर्परखण्डान् धृत्वा परया ।

दृढस्थाल्याच्छाद्य मुटयित्वा दिवसत्रितयं विपश्चद विधिना ॥

2

पिष्टं पांगपटु प्रगाढममलं वज्रास्तुना नैकशः

मृतं धातुगतं खटीकावलितं तं संपुष्टं रोधयेत् ।

अलसलवणस्य तस्य च तलं प्रज्वाल्य वल्लिं दृढं

घस्वं शास्त्रमर्थन्दुकन्दधवलं भस्मोपरिस्थं शनैः ।

Portuguese *i.e.* syphilis) and gives the following recipe: "Take of purified mercury, *gairika* (red-ochre), brick-dust, chalk, alum, rock-salt, earth from ant-hill, *kshāri lavana* (impure sulphate of soda) and *bhāndaranjika* or red earth used in colouring pots, in equal parts, rub together and strain through cloth. Place the mixture in an earthen pot, cover it with another pot, face to face, lute the two together with layers of clay and cloth. The pots so luted are then placed on fire, and heated for four days, after which they are opened, and the white camphor-like deposit in the upper part is collected for use."¹

The Japanese method has been described by Professor Divers at length ² and a summary of it is given below in the eminent chemist's own words:—

"The Japanese prepare calomel pure, above all things from corrosive sublimate. They heat balls of porous earth and salt soaked in bittern along with mercury, in iron pots lined with earth. The heat forms hydrochloric acid from the magnesium chloride in the bittern, and the mercury sublimes into the close-fitting but unattached clay covers of the pots. Air enters by diffusion and oxygen and hydrochloric acid gas act together in the hollow cover on the vapour given off from the sublimate of mercury there formed."

- (1) शुद्धसूतसमं कुर्यात् प्रत्येकं गैरिकं सुधीः ।
 इष्टिकां खटिकां तद्वत् स्फटिकां मिश्रयन् च ॥
 वल्मीकं चारुवर्णं भाण्डरञ्जकसत्त्विकाम् ।
 स्रव्याग्नेतानि संचूर्ण्य वाससा चापि शोधयेत् ॥
 एभिर्गुणैर्गुणितं सूतं यावदयामं विमृष्टयेत् ।
 तच्चूर्णमहितं सूतं स्थालीमध्ये परिचिपेत् ॥
 तस्या स्थाल्या मुखे स्थालीमपरां धारयेत् समात् ।
 सवस्वकृत्तिसृदा मुदयेदनयोर्मुखम् ॥
 संशोष्य मुदयेदुभयोभयः संशोष्य मुदयेत् ।
 सम्यग्विशोष्य मुद्रां तां स्थालीं च त्वां विधारयेत् ॥
 अग्निं निरन्तरं दद्याद् यावद्विनचतुष्टयम् ।
 अङ्गारोपरि तदयन्तं रत्तेद्यत्वादहर्निशम् ॥
 शनैरुदघाटयेद् यत्नमूढं स्थालीगतं रसम् ।
 कर्पूरवत् सुविमलं गच्छीयाद् गुणवत्तरम् ॥

The translation from *Bhāvaprakāśa* as given above is by Dutt.

(2) *Journ. Soc. Chem. Ind.* Vol. XIII, (1894) pp. 108-11

It will be seen that the process somewhat approaches that of *Rasendrasārasamgraha* in which the *pāmsu* salt, which contains magnesium sulphate (see p. 134) sets free hydrochloric acid. The recipe of *Rasendrachintāmani* and *Bhāvaprakāsa* would seem to have their analogue in the Chinese method, for a short account of which we are also indebted to Professor Divers' Memoir :—

"The Chinese process, *if correctly described*, differs from that used in Japan in several material points, one of which is that the mercury is intimately ground up with the other materials, and one fails to see what reaction can take place between it and the two others, namely salt and alum. Heated, the mixture must give off mercury and hydrochloric acid, and then these, as in the Japanese process, will with air give the calomel, but this is independent of the previous intimate mixture of the mercury with the salt and the alum. Another point is that in place of the magnesium chloride of sea-water as the source of hydrochloric acid, the Chinese are said to use alum or copperas, which, with the salt, will react to give hydrochloric acid. A third, point is that the cover is said to be closely luted to the iron pot, which must nearly exclude the air, without which it is impossible to explain the formation of the calomel. Perhaps this is the reason why the Chinese process is said to take four or five hours' firing, since this may give time enough for the needed oxygen to diffuse through the cup and luting, it will also account for the fact, if it is one, that the yield of calomel is markedly less in weight than the mercury used."

The Chinese and Hindu methods ¹ are essentially the same as in both alum plays an important part in that it yields sulphuric acid. Professor Divers in his explanation of the Japanese method supports the view that the hydrochloric acid at first liberated

(1) To which may be added that of the Latin Geber :—

"Argentum vivum sic sublima. Sume de eo libram unam, vitrioli rubificati libras duas, aluminis rochae calcinati libram unam, et salis communis libram semis, et salis petrae quartam partem, et incorporatum sublima, et collige album, densum, clarum et ponderosum, quod circa vasis sponditia inventum fuerit, et serva, ut tibi de aliis scripsimus. Sed si in prima sublimatione inventum fuerit, turbidam vel immundum, quod tibi accidere poterit propter tuam negligentiam, illud cum eisdem fecibus noveris iterum sublimare, et serva."—*Ges. d. Chem.* IV, p. 189.

undergoes *aerial* oxidation, thus : $2\text{HCl} + \text{O} = \text{H}_2\text{O} + \text{Cl}_2$; and it is the chlorine thus set free, which attacks the mercury, forming calomel—a view which has been accepted by no less an authority than Mendeléeff.¹ The author has all along entertained doubts as to the correctness of Divers' hypothesis and he has, in his lectures, pointed out to his students that some "catalytic agent" as in Deacon's process must account for the reaction involved. This now turns out to be so. It is the *ferric oxide*, a constituent of the burnt earth "*mitsuchi*,"² which really acts as the chlorinating agent, if we may so call it, in that it combines with the hydrochloric acid forming ferric chloride, and the latter in turn dissociates into *ferrous chloride* and *free chlorine*.

The alumina of the clay also plays a similar part. A series of experiments were undertaken to establish this point, the results of which are stated below :—

I. Mercury, intimately rubbed with moist magnesium chloride, was gently heated in a combustion tube in a current of carbonic acid gas : globules of mercury and hydrochloric acid condensed in the cooler parts of the tube, but no calomel was formed.

II. Mercury, intimately mixed with magnesium chloride and a small quality of jeweller's *rouge* (ferric oxide), was treated exactly as above—a crystalline sublimate of calomel was at once obtained, with only a faint trace of corrosive sublimate. There was very little free mercury left.

III. The experiment under ii was repeated, only alumina being substituted for ferric oxide—almost chemically pure calomel was obtained, the yield being rather less.

IV. Mercury, was vapourised in a current of air mixed with hydrochloric acid gas—calomel was formed, but the yield was

(1) *Principles of Chemistry*, Vol. II. p. 54 (Eng. trans. ed 1897)

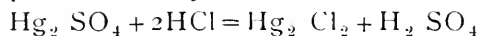
(2) The composition of the earth, as found in use at the works, but rendered anhydrous, is as follows :—

Quartz	...	...	38'4
Combined Silica	...	...	24'2
Alumina	...	...	26'3
Ferric oxide	...	...	10'5
Magnesia	...	...	0'3
			99'7

proportionately very much less than in i ; by far the largest amount of mercury volatilised as such and condensed in the cooler parts of the tube as globules. ¹

The formation of calomel as in exp. iv. is, in itself, an interesting reaction and it is rather surprising that Roscoe and Schorlemmer's latest edition of the standard work on Chemistry fails to take note of it. Our contention, however, is that the traces of air that would diffuse through the porous lid would give rise to a quantity of calomel which may almost be regarded as negligible. For the true explanation, as we have already pointed out, we should look to the presence of *ferric oxide*. Our view receives additional support from the fact that the residue in exp. i. was found to contain *ferrous* chloride.

The Chinese method as also that of the Latin Geber recommends the addition of saltpetre as thereby more of corrosive sublimate would be formed than calomel, and this purpose is equally served in the process of *Bhāvaprakāsa* which uses, over and above brick-dust, *gairika* (red ferruginous earth, see p. 76), thus further increasing the chlorinating capacity. Professor Divers is of opinion that the sulphuric acid set free by alum acts upon sodium chloride giving rise to hydrochloric acid (loc. cit.) and does nothing more ; our view is that the sulphuric acid simultaneously acts in a two-fold capacity ; first, it liberates hydrochloric acid ; secondly, it acts upon mercury forming mercurous or mercuric sulphate as the case may be and then double decomposition takes place between the two, thus :



The sulphuric acid in turn acts upon a fresh quantity of sodium chloride and mercury and so on. By far the larger portion of the chlorides of mercury would seem, however, to be formed through the agency of the ferric oxide.

(1) The author avails himself of this opportunity to express his indebtedness to Mr. Chandrabhusawa Bhāduri, B.A., Demonstrator, Chemical Dept., Presidency College, with whom he has, of late, had frequent discussions on the Chemistry of the Japanese Process. It was Mr. Bhāduri who hit on the true explanation as given above. The experiments i, ii, iii and iv were all performed by him. As Mr. Bhāduri has expressed a desire to work out the subject in all its bearings, we can confidently look forward to some very interesting results.

The processes of *Rasendrachiutāmani* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* were also put to an experimental test, the globules of mercury were broken up by being rubbed continuously with a mixture of brick-dust, alum and common salt, and the mass was transferred to a stout bottle, which was wrapped in several folds of cloth, smeared with clay ¹. The bottle was embedded in sand and heated for 3 hours ²—*vide* illustration. The sublimate that was obtained was a mixture of calomel and mercuric chloride; in one experiment brick-dust was omitted and the product was pure calomel. ³ There was necessarily some loss of mercury by volatilisation in these cases and the yield was short of the theoretical quantity. It will be seen that common salt, with alum or green vitriol, is quite competent to convert mercury into calomel; but the addition of brick-dust increases the chlorinating capacity, giving rise to a certain proportion of corrosive sublimate, which can probably be avoided by gentle heating as in the Japanese method.

APPENDIX I

Analysis of some Preparations used in the Hindu Medicine

ÆTHIOPS MINERAL

(*Kajjali or rasaparpati p. 34*)

As might be expected from its mode of preparation, the substance always contains a large excess of free sulphur.

(1) The experiments were conducted under the author's personal supervision by Kavirāj Prakritiprasanna Kaviratna, who is well skilled in the Ayurvedic methods of *killing* metals.

(2) The heating for 3 or 4 days together as recommended in the Hindu method need not be taken seriously, indeed it must be regarded as an *extra-vaganza* of the old alchemists. Professor Divers in applying his theory of *aerial oxidation* to the Chinese process has been led to suppose that it "takes 4 or 5 hours' firing, since this may give time enough for the needed oxygen to diffuse through the cup and luting".

(3) Dutt writes :—"The white form called *rasakarpūra* is now prepared, not according to the processes described in Sanskrit works, but by subliming the black sulphide of mercury with common or rock salt. In this form it is largely manufactured and sold in all the bazars."

0.645 gram subst., digested with carbon bisulphide, yielded 0.2845g. sulphur : whence free sulphur amounts to nearly 44 per cent.

SULPHIDE OF COPPER

(*Parpati tāmram p. 32*)

0.704 g. subst., heated in a current of hydrogen with powdered sulphur (Rose's method), till the weight was constant, gave 0.697 g. It is thus evident that this preparation is nearly pure cuprous sulphide (Cu_2S).

CALOMEL

(*Rasakarpūra, p. 137*)

Five samples, procured from the market and prepared according to the indigenous method, when exhausted with water gave in the filtrate only faint brown coloration with sulphuretted hydrogen. It is thus evident that these were all free from corrosive sublimate.

RUST OF IRON

(*Mandura, p. 62*)

Hindu physicians generally procure the scales from the blacksmith's forge, which peel off the red hot bars of iron, when they are struck on the anvil with an iron hammer. These are subjected to further roasting, sometimes as many as 500 times and powdered very fine.

Sample I.

The power was reddish brown in colour ; and slightly magnetic ; 0.6638g was boiled a few hours with hydrochloric acid in a current of carbonic acid gas. On adding a drop of potassium ferricyanide solution to a drop of the iron solution, a faint blue colour was noticed. Weight of insoluble residue, which was simply siliceous matter, was equal to 0.107g¹ ; the oxide of iron was therefore

Dutt, we are afraid, derived much of his information on chemical subjects from hearsay. By "subliming the black sulphide of mercury with common salt," we got, as we expected, merely *cinnabar*. The sodium chloride was simply left behind. It is to be regretted that the new edition of Dutt's valuable work, which claims to be "revised," reproduces all the glaring errors of the first.

equal to $0.6638\text{g} - 0.107\text{g} = 0.5568\text{g}$. The solution, distinctly yellow in colour, was treated with ammonia and the precipitate, ignited in the usual way, weighed 0.560g . The sample was thus practically ferric oxide (Fe_2O_3).

Sample II.

It was magnetic and of dark iron colour ; 0.259g , digested as above with hydrochloric acid, gave as residue (sand &c.) 0.131g . Wt. of the real oxide = 128g . The solution was treated with ammonia and the precipitate, ignited as usual, weighed 0.130g . The latter was once more dissolved in HCl and tested with K_3FeCy_6 ; but no indication of a *ferrous* salt was obtained. It is thus evident that both the samples contained only a trace of ferrous oxide.

As a check upon the above analyses, black scales were procured from a smith's and examined. These were carefully sifted by means of an electro-magnet and freed from dust and other foreign impurities. 0.622g scales were heated in a platinum crucible over a blow-pipe flame and cooled at intervals, till the weight was constant at 0.649g .

Now $\text{FeO} \cdot \text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$ thus becomes $\text{Fe}\frac{3}{2} \cdot \text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3$

or 232g " " 240g

Now $0.622 \times \frac{240}{232} \text{g} = 0.643\text{g}$

The difference between the theoretical amount and that actually found is thus only 6 milligrams. This is no doubt due to the scales enclosing minute traces of *metallic* iron.

In the Hindu method of *killing* and purifying metals, the juices expressed from various plants are frequently used (cf. pp. 34, 73). The ashes of plants rich in potash are also utilised as a source of alkali. (Cf. p. 19) We give below one or two typical analyses.

(i) *Achyranthes aspera* (अपामार्ग) ।

"The ashes are used by the Hindus in preparing alkaline preparations. The diuretic properties of the plant are well known to the natives of India, and European physicians agree as to its value in dropsical affections.

* * * * *

"*Chemical composition*.—The whole plant collected in August was used. A proximate analysis failed to indicate the presence

of any principle of special interest. No alkaloidal body was detected, and the alcoholic extract contained no principle reacting with ferric salts.

"For the ash determination, the roots, stems and leaves were separately examined with the following results :—

	Leaves.	Stems.	Roots.
P ² O ³	3'0257	2'6939	1'8594
SiO ² as Sand...	39'7192	12'9716	21'4219
SO ³	1'3200	2'6534	3'9523
CaO	13'8893	13'1233	12'9335
MgO	3'4778	3'5149	5'4419
K ² O	17'8454	32'0008	28'5830
Na ² O .....	.....	.....	9860
Fe ² O ³	2'7931	3'0352	5'6297
Manganese	Traces, not estimated.	Not estimated	Not estimated.
KCl	5'7416	9'5221	.....
NaCl	1'1770	1'5261	3'2951
Al ² O ³	2'0651	Not estimated.	Not estimated.
CO ²	8'8687	13'6294	11'0057
Carbon	3297	5525	Not estimated.
	100'2526	95'2232	95'1085

"The leaves, stems, and roots dried at 100 C. afforded respectively the following percentages of ash :—Leaves, 24'334 ; stems, 8'672 ; roots, 8'863. The large amount of sand present in the ash is due to the fact of the plants having been collected during the rains, and when received they were coated with finely divided siliceous matter.

"The total potash calculated as K²O was equivalent in the leaves to 21'4986 per cent., in the stems to 38'0122 per cent., and in the roots to 28'5830 per cent. It is possible that the plant might be of value as a cheap green manure on account of its potash content. (Warden, *Chem. News*, Vol. ii., 1891)."

(ii) Juice of *Trianthema monogyna* (श्वेतपुनर्णवा)।

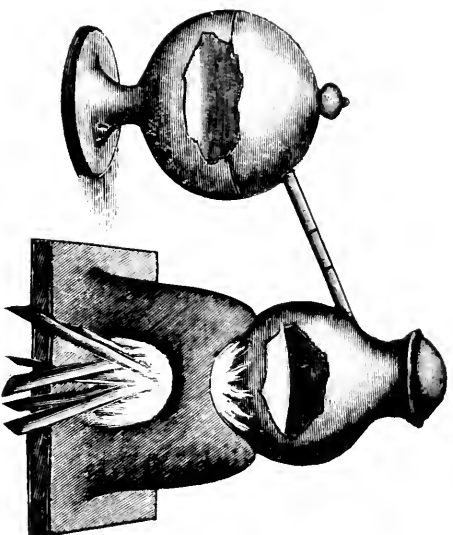
Although *Punarnava* is *Boerhaavia diffusa*, the plant universally used by our *Kavirajes* as श्वेतपुनर्णवा, is different. A sample

was submitted to the authorities of the Royal Botanical Gardens, Sibpur, for examination, and it was indentified as *Trianthema monogyna* (nat. ord. Ficoidæ). On chemical analysis of the juice of the succulent stems, we found it to consist of a large proportion of potassium and sodium chlorides; a nitrate was also detected. The cooling and diuretic properties of the plant are thus easily explained.

APPENDIX II

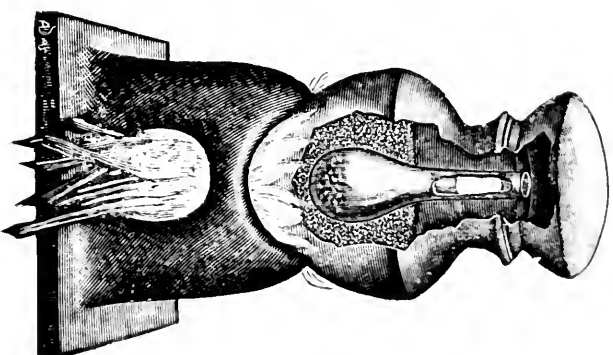


Engraved by A. B. Doss & Bros., 102, College Street, Calcutta.

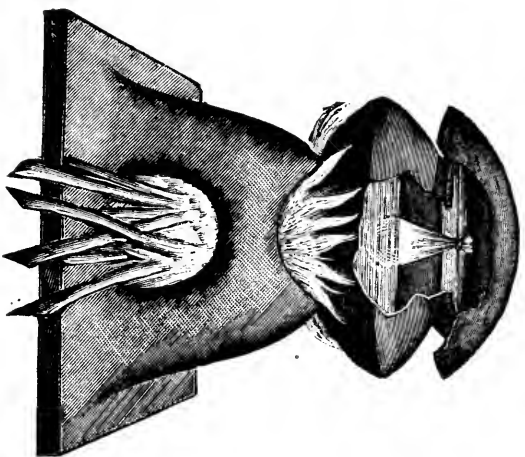


Ihokā yantram.

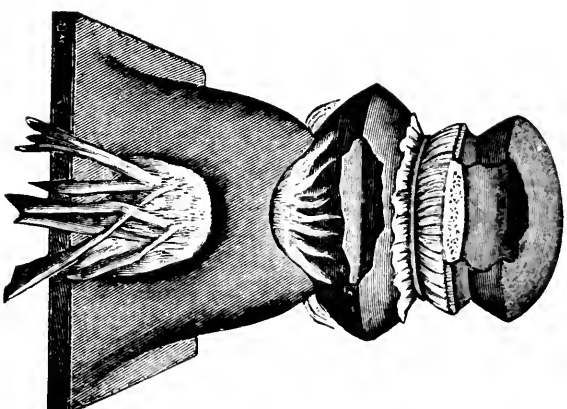
(See p. 68)



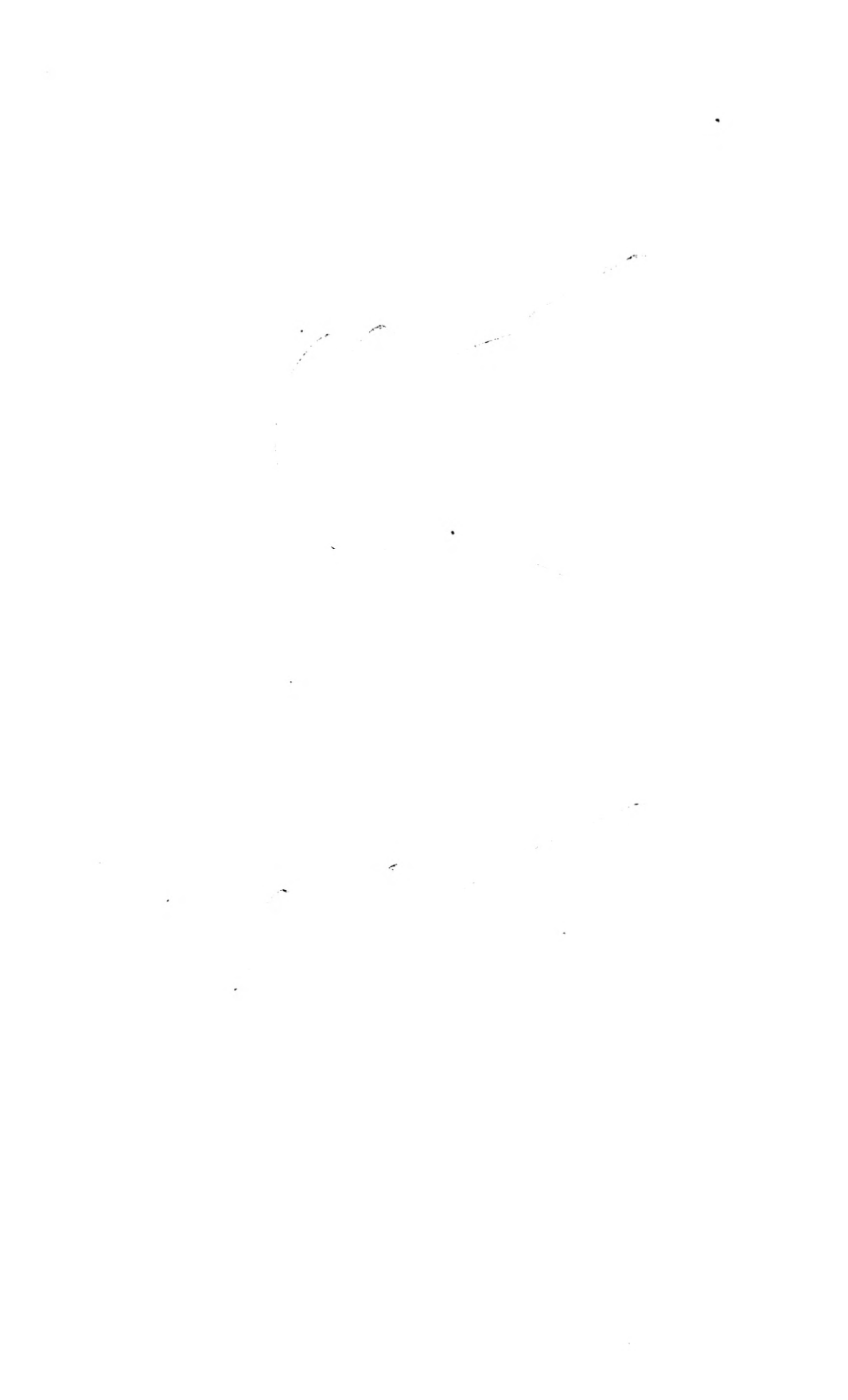
Īśānā yantram. (See p. 68)

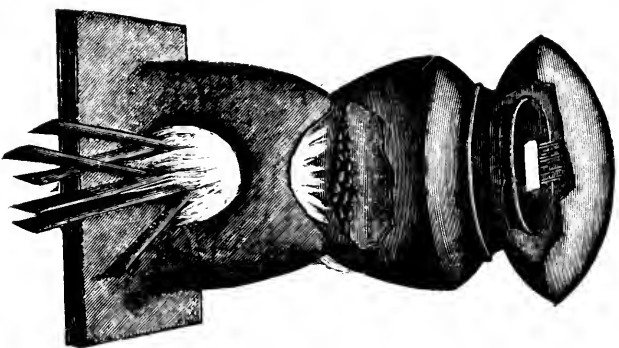


Dolā yantram. (See p. 68)

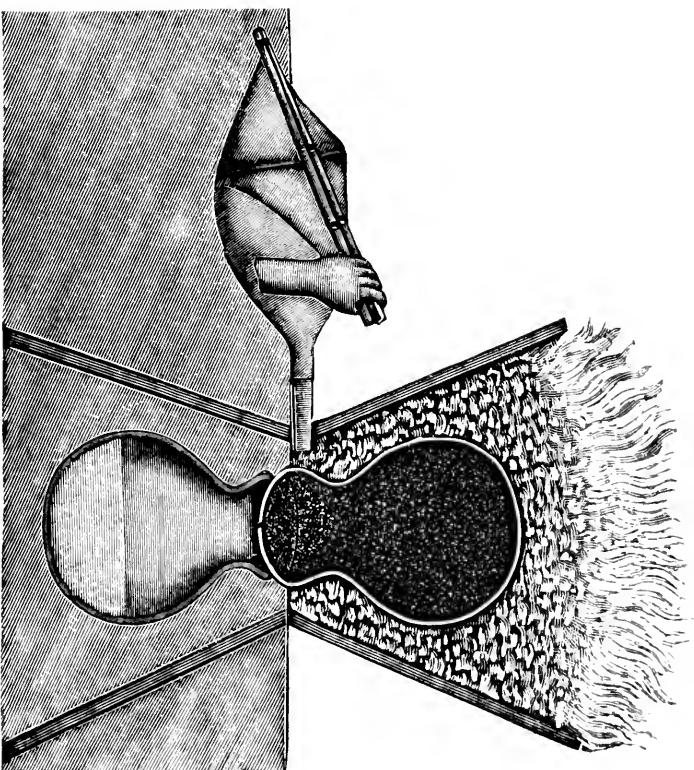


Suddam yantram. (See p. 68)



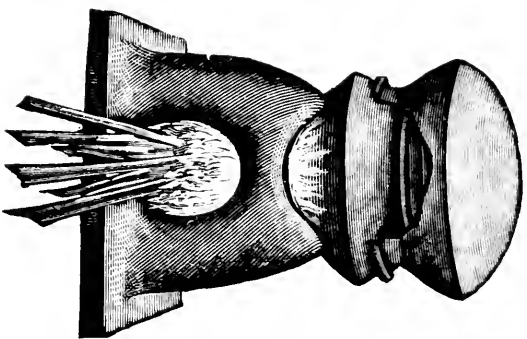


Dhiphayantram. (See p. 69)



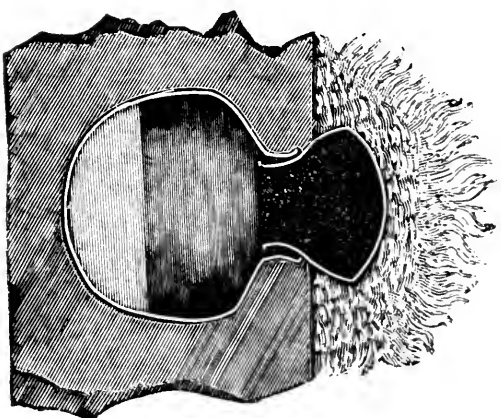
Koshili apparatus,
for the extraction of zinc from calamine.

(See p. 49)



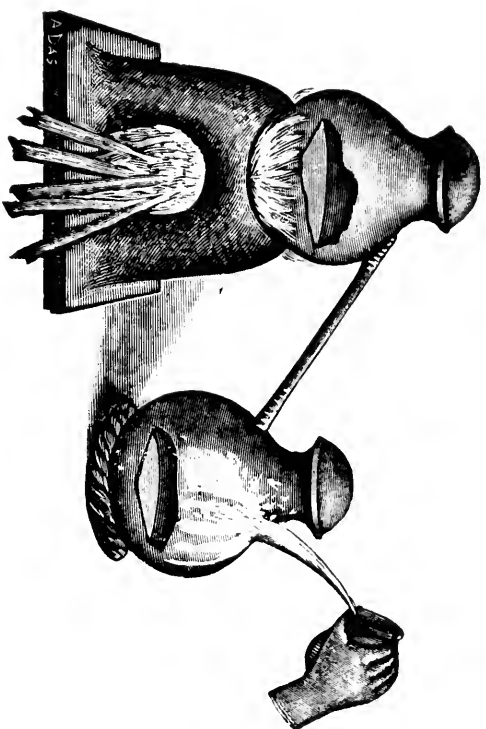
Patana yantram.

(See p. 68)



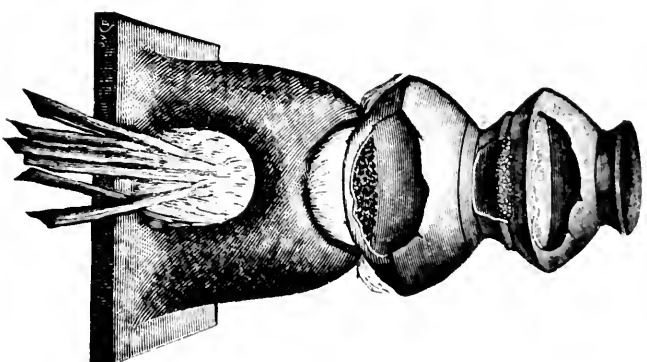
Adhaspatana yantram.

(See p. 68)



Tiryakpātana yantram.

(See p. 69)



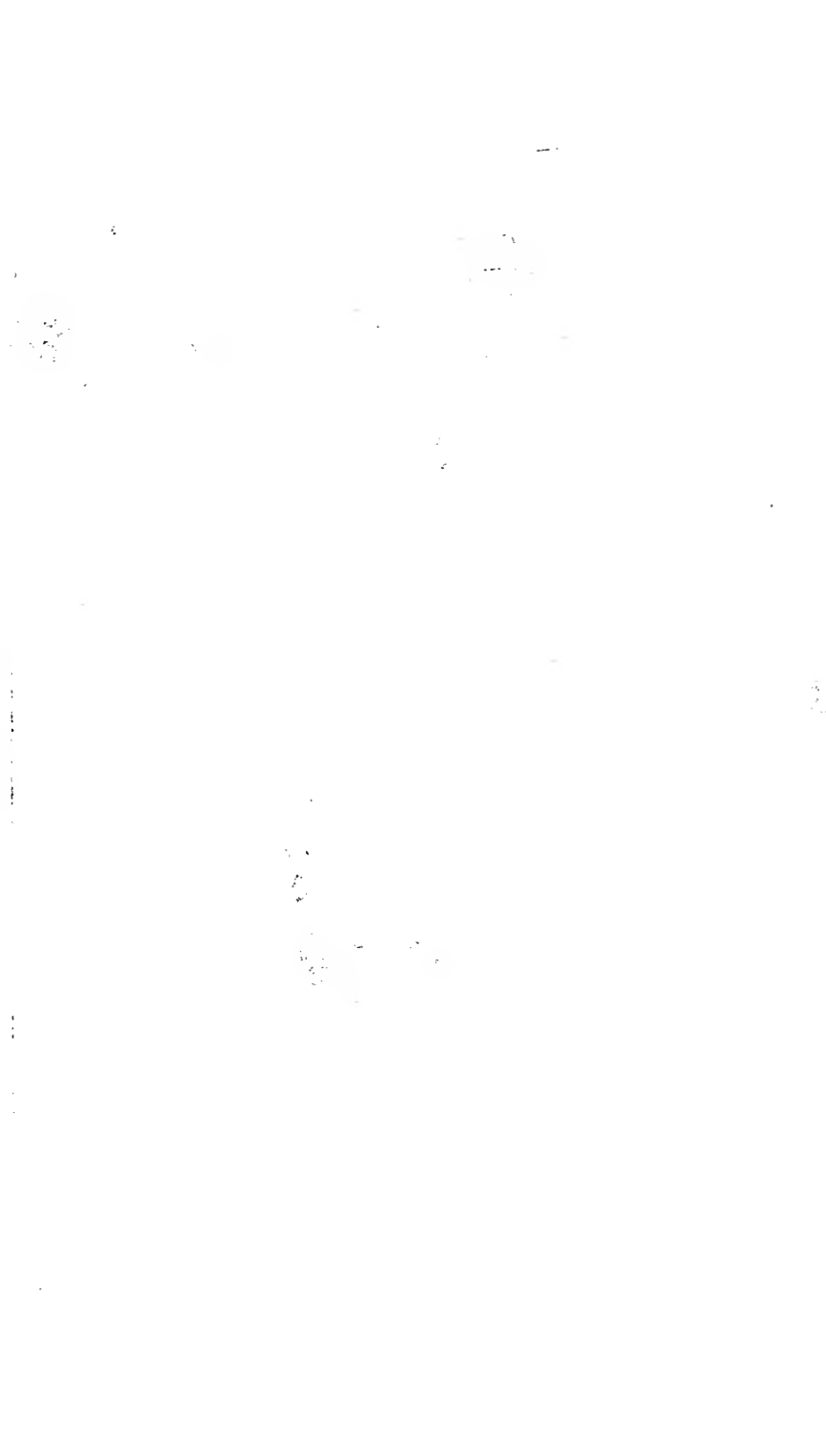
Vidyaśūdra yantram.

(See p. 69)



A. Das

Copper Reducing Furnace at Khetri.
From Ball's Economic Geology of India. (See p. 77)





Iron and Sulphate of Copper, Khetri.

From Ball's Economic Geology of India.

(See p. 81.)

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SANSKRIT TEXTS



SANSKRIT TEXTS

EXTRACTS FROM VRINDA

Abbreviations used : M. Ms. = Madras Manuscript.

K. Ms. = Kāsmir Manuscript.

R. R. S. = Rasaratnasamuchchaya.

Rr. by Nāg. = Rasaratnākara by

Nāgārjuna.

वृन्दलिखितसिद्धयोगादुद्धृतानि वचनानि—

रसेन्द्रेण समायुक्तो रसो धत्तूरपत्रजः ।

ताम्बूलपत्रजो वायु लेपनं यौकनाशनम् ॥ VII, 13.

त्रिफलाव्योषसिन्धूत्ययष्टीतुल्यरसाञ्जनम् ।

प्रपौण्डरीकं जस्तुभ्रं लोभ्रं ताम्रं चतुर्दश ॥

द्रव्याण्येतानि संचूर्ण्य वर्त्तिः कार्य्या नभोऽम्बुना ।

नागार्जुनेन लिखिता स्तम्भे पाटलिपुत्रके ॥

LX, 148-149.

सर्व्वेषां लोहजातानां कान्तं भवति कान्तिदम् ।

* * पाचयेन्नोहमादौ सप्तदिने ततः ॥

धात्रीपिण्डारकोद्भूतस्वरसेनार्करश्मिषु ।

स्थापयेत् * * * * ॥

काकमाचीरसे पश्चात् * * ।

पुनर्भजान्ते सर्व्वत्र खलितव्यं प्रयत्नतः ॥

पश्चाच्चूर्णं विधातव्यमप्रमत्तेन धीमता ।

इति सूर्य्यमुखेनैव मारणं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥

* * * * लोहमारणम् ।

रसगन्धकताम्राणां चूर्णं कृत्वा समाक्षिकम् ।

पुटपाकविधौ पक्त्वा मधुनालीढ्यं संलिह्येत् ॥

सर्वरोगहरं चैतत् पर्पटाख्यं रसायनम् ॥

पर्पटीताम्रं, रसायनाधिकारः ।

कर्षद्वयं गन्धकस्य तदर्धं पारदस्य च ।

विडालपदमात्रं तु लिह्यात् तन्मधुमर्षिषा ॥¹

रसामृतचूर्णं, अम्लपित्ताधिकारः ।

(1) The edition of ब्रह्म published by the Ānandāsrama Press, Poona, does not contain the last three slokas, which, however, occur in the K. Ms. of the same.

EXTRACTS FROM RASARNAVA

रसार्णवाद्बृताः श्लोकाः ।

श्रीभैरव उवाच—

रसोपरसलोहानि वसनं काञ्चिकं विडम् ।
धमनी लोहयन्त्राणि खल्वपाषाणमर्हकम् ॥
कोष्टिका¹ वक्रनालं च गोमयं सारमिन्धनम् ।
मृण्मयानि च यन्त्राणि मुसलोलूखलानि च ॥
संङ्सीयादृशदंशं² मृत्पात्रायःकरोटकम् ।
प्रतिमानानि च तुला छेदनानि कषोत्पलम् ॥³
वंशनाली लोहनाली मूषामार्गास्तथौषधी ।
स्नेहाम्ललवणक्षारविषाण्युपविषाणि च ॥
एवं संगृह्य संभारं कर्मयोगं समाचरेत् ॥
द्रवद्रव्येण भाण्डस्य पूरितार्द्धोदरस्य⁴ च ।
मुखे तिर्य्यक्कृते भाण्डे रसं सूत्रेण लम्बितम् ।
तं स्वेदयेत् तत्रगतं दोलायन्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥
लोहमूषाद्वयं कृत्वा द्वादशाङ्गुलमानतः ।
ईषच्छिद्रां⁵ छिद्रमितामिकां गन्धकसंयुताम् ॥
मूषायां रसयुक्तायामन्यस्यां तां प्रवेशयेत् ।
तोयं स्यात् सूतकस्याध ऊर्ध्वधो वह्निदीपनम् ॥

(1) Cf. कोष्टिका वक्रनालं च गोमयं सारमिन्धनम् ।

Rr. by Nāg. Ch. IV.

(2) M. Ms. reads मण्डपीपट्सन्दर्शा मृत्पात्रायःकर्मोक्तम् ।

(3) M. Ms. has कषोत्पलम् ।

(4) K. Ms. reads भाण्डं च पूरितार्द्धरसेन च । The reading adopted in the text is that of the M. Ms., which quite agrees with R. R. S. (see p. 73, Poona ed.)

(5) M. Ms. reads ईषच्छिद्रान्वितामिकम् ।

रसोनकरसं भद्रे यत्नतो वस्त्रगालितम् ।
 दापयेत् प्रचुरं यत्नादाप्लाव्य रसगन्धकौ ॥
 स्थालिकायां निधायोद्धुं स्थालीमन्यां दृढां कुरु ।
 सन्धिं विलेपयेद् यत्नान्मृदा वस्त्रेण चैव¹ हि ॥
 स्थाल्यन्तरे कपोताख्यं पुटं कर्षाग्निना सदा ।
 यन्वस्याधः करीषाग्निं दद्यात् तीव्राग्निमेव च ॥
 एवं तु त्रिदिनं कुर्यात् तप्ततोये विमर्दयेत् ॥
 न तत्र क्षीयते सूतो न च गच्छति कुत्रचित् ॥
 ऊर्ध्वं वह्निरधश्चापो मध्ये तु रससंग्रहः ।
 मूषायन्त्रमिदं देवि जारयेद्² गन्धकादिकम् ॥³
 गर्भयन्त्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि पिष्टिकाभस्मकारकम् ।
 चतुरङ्गुलदीर्घां⁴ च मूषिकां सृग्मयीं दृढाम् ॥
 अङ्गुलमध्यविस्तारं वर्तुलं कारयेन्मुखम् ।
 लोहस्य⁵ विंशतिर्भागा एकभागस्तु गुग्गुलीः ॥
 सुश्लक्ष्णं पेषायित्वा तु तीर्थं दद्यात् पुनःपुनः ।
 मूषालेपं ततः कुर्यात् तिलपिष्टं च निक्षिपेत् ॥⁶

(1) Rr. by Nāg. reads मध्येतु रससंस्थितिः

(2) M. Ms. has सारयेत् ।

(3) गगनादिकम् in R. S. S. (p. 74, Poona ed.)

couplets लोहमूषादयं गच्छति कुत्रचित् have been borrowed by R. R. S. in the Book on apparatus.

(4) Rr. by Nāg. reads—

चतुरङ्गुलदैर्घ्येण विस्तारेण च त्र्यङ्गुलम् ।
 मूषां तु सृग्मयीं कुर्यात् सुदृढां वर्तुलां वधः ॥
 विंशभागानि लोहस्य भागमेकं तु गुग्गुलीः ।
 सुश्लक्ष्णं पेषयित्वा तु तीर्थं दत्त्वा पुनःपुनः ॥
 मूषा-लेपं दृढं वद्ध्वा लोणाद्यं सत्तिका वधः ।
 कुर्यात् तुषाग्निं भूमीं च सदुस्त्रेदेन स्वेदयेत् ॥

(5) K. Ms. reads लोणस्य ।

(6) K. Ms. has तिलपिष्टं मुनिक्षिपेत् ।

कुर्यात् तुषाग्निं भूसौ¹ च मृदुस्वेदं तु कारयेत् ।
 अहीरात्रं त्रिरात्रं वा रसोन्द्रो भस्मतां व्रजेत् ॥
 जारणे सारणे चैव रमराजस्य रञ्जने ।
 यन्त्रमेव परं कर्म यन्त्रविद्या महावला ॥²
 औषधिरहितश्चायं हठाद् यन्त्रेण वध्यते ।
 तस्माद् यन्त्रवलं चैकं न विलिङ्घ्यं विजानता ॥ 3-24.
 खर्परं सिकताकारं कृत्वा तस्योपरि न्यसेत् ।
 अपरं खर्परं तत्र शनैर्मृद्वग्निना पचेत् ॥
 पञ्चक्षारैस्तथा मूत्रैर्लवणैश्च विडैस्ततः ।
 हंसपाकः स विज्ञातो³ यन्त्रतत्त्वार्थकोविदैः ॥
 कृष्णा रक्ता च पीता च शुक्लवर्णा⁴ च मृत्तिका ।
 आद्या श्रेष्ठा कनिष्ठा च मध्यमा मध्यमा मता ॥
 दग्धधान्यतुषोपेता मृत्तिका कोष्ठकारिका ।⁵
 वक्रनालकृते वापि शस्यते सुरसुन्दरि ॥
 गौरा दग्धा तुषा दग्धा दग्धा वल्मीकमृत्तिका ।
 अजाश्वानां मलं दग्धं दग्धा मृत् कृष्णतां गता ॥
 वासकस्य च पत्राणि वल्मीकस्य मृदा सह ।
 पेययेदग्नितोयेन अनेन वज्रतां गतम् ॥
 मर्दयेत् तेन वध्नीयाद् वक्रनालं च कोष्ठकम् ।
 गौरा दग्धा तुषा दग्धा दग्धा वल्मीकमृत्तिका ॥
 चिरमङ्गारकः किट्टं वज्रेणापि न भिद्यते ।
 दग्धाङ्गारस्य षड्भागा भागैका कृष्णमृत्तिका ॥
 चिरमङ्गारकः किट्टं वज्रमूषा प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥

(1) M. Ms. reads तुषकर्षाग्निना भूसौ ।

(2) M. Ms. has यन्त्रौषधं परं कर्म यन्त्रौषध्या महारसम् ।

(3) M. Ms. reads हंसपादस्तु विख्यातः ।

(4) M. Ms. has शुक्लकृष्णा ।

(5) M. Ms. reads कोष्ठकाभिधौ ।

तुषदग्धसमा दग्धगुत्तिका चतुरंशिका ।
 क्लृप्तापापाणसंयुक्ता ¹ वज्रमूषा प्रकीर्त्तिता ॥
 प्रकाशाचान्धमूषा च प्रकृतिर्द्विविधा स्मृता ।
 प्रकाशमूषा देवेशि शरावाकारसंयुता ॥
 द्रव्यनिर्वाहणे सा च वैदिकैः सुप्रशस्यते ॥ ²
 अन्धमूषातु कर्त्तव्या गोस्तनाकारसन्निभा ।
 पिधानकसमायुक्ता किञ्चिदुत्तानमस्तका ॥
 पत्रलेपे तथा भागे ³ इन्द्रमेलापके तथा ।
 सैव छिद्रान्विता मन्दा गम्भीरा सारणोचिता ॥
 मोक्षचारस्य ⁴ भागौ द्वौ दृष्टकांशसमन्वितौ ।
 मृद्भागास्तारशुद्धार्थमुत्तमा वरवर्णिनि ॥ 29-46.
 आवर्त्तमाने कनके पीता तारे सिता शुभा ।
 शुल्बे ⁵ नीलनिभा तीक्ष्णे कृष्णवर्णा सुरेश्वरि ॥
 वज्रे ज्वाला कपोता च नागे मलिनधूमता ।
 शैले तु धूमरा देवि आयसे कपिलप्रभा ॥
 अयस्कान्ते धूमवर्णा सस्यके लोहिता भवेत् ।
 वज्रे नानाविधा ज्वाला सस्यके ⁶ पाण्डुरप्रभा ॥
 न विस्फुलिङ्गा न च बुद्बुदाश्च यदा न रेखा-पटलं न शब्दः ।
 मूषागतं रत्नसमं स्थिरं च तदा विशुद्धं प्रवदन्ति लोहम् ॥
 षोडशाङ्गुलविस्तीर्णं हस्तमात्रायतं शुभम् ।
 धातुसत्त्वनिपातार्थं कोष्ठकं वरवर्णिनि ॥ 49-57.

इति श्रीपार्वतीपरमेश्वरसंवादे रसार्णवे रससंहितायां यन्त्रमूषाग्नि-
 वर्णनो नाम चतुर्थः पटलः ।

(1) M. Ms. has कृषीपापाणसंयुक्ता ।

(2) M. Ms. reads सा च वैदिकैस्तु प्रशस्यते ।

(3) M. Ms. has रङ्गे ।

(4) M. Ms. reads मोक्षचारस्य ।

(5) K. Ms. has गुक्ते, which seems to be incorrect.

(6) M. Ms. reads खसत्त्वे ।

त्रिचाराङ्गकणचारो यवचारश्च सर्जिका ।
 तिलापामार्गकदलीपलाशशिशुमोचकाः ।
 मूलाद्रकचिच्चाश्वत्या वृक्षचाराः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ॥ V. 35-36.
 माक्षिकं विमलं शैलञ्चपलो¹ रसकस्तथा ।
 सस्यको दरदश्चैव स्रोतोऽञ्जनमथाटकम् ।²
 अष्टौ महारसाः * * * ॥ VII. 2-3.
 क्षौद्रगन्धर्वतैलाभ्यां गोमूत्रेण घृतेन च ।
 कदलीकन्दसारिण भावितं माक्षिकं मुहुः ।
 मूषायां मुञ्चति धातं सत्त्वं शुल्बनिभं मृदु ॥ 12-13.
 विमलं शिशुतोयिन काञ्चीकामीसटकणैः ।
 वज्रकन्दसमायुक्तं भावितं कदलीरसैः ॥
 मोक्षिकाचारसंयुक्तं धापितं मूकमूषया ।
 सत्त्वं चन्द्रार्कसंकाशं प्रयच्छति न संशयः ॥³ 20-21.
 गौरः श्वेतोऽरुणः कृष्णश्चपलस्तु प्रशस्यते ।
 हेमाभश्चैव ताराभो विशेषाद् रसबन्धकः ॥
 शेषौ मध्यौ च लाक्षावत् शीघ्रद्रावौ तु निष्कलौ ।
 वङ्गवद् द्रवते वल्ली चपलस्तेन कीर्त्तितः ॥ 26-27.
 मृत्तिकागुडपाषाणभेदेतो⁴ रसकस्त्रिधा ॥ VII. 31.
 किमत्र चित्रं रसको रसेन,
 * * * भावितः ।

(1) K. Ms. has शिला ।

(2) K. Ms. reads श्रीतां जनकथाटकम् which is incorrect.

(3) विमलं शिशुतोयिन काञ्चीकामीसटकणैः ।

वज्रकन्दसमायुक्तं भावितं कदलीरसैः ॥

मोक्षिकाचारसंयुक्तं धापितं मूकमूषगम् ।

सत्त्वं चन्द्रार्कसंकाशं पतति नावसंशयः ॥

Rr. by Nāg. II. 35, 36.

(4) M. Ms. has भेदकः ।

क्रमेण भूत्वा तुरगेण रञ्जितः
 करोति शुल्वं¹ त्रिपुटेन काञ्चनम् ॥² VII. 34.
 ऊर्णालाक्षातथापथ्याभूलताधूमसंयुतः ।
 मूकमूषागतो धातष्टकणेन समन्वितः ॥
 सत्त्वं कुटिलसंकाशं मुञ्चत्यत्र न संशयः ॥³ VII. 37-38.
 सस्यकं * * * *
 शशशोणितमध्ये वा दिनमेकं निधापयेत् ।
 तस्य चूर्णं महेशानि पादसौभाग्यसंयुतम् ॥⁴
 करञ्जतैलमध्यस्थं दिनमेकं निधापयेत् ।
 मध्यस्थमन्धमूषायां धापयेत् कोकिलात्रयम् ॥
 इन्द्रगोपकसंकाशं सत्त्वं पतति शोभनम् ॥ VII. 41-44.
 गोपितेन शतं वारान् सौराष्ट्रीं भावयेत् ततः ।
 धमित्रा पातयेत् सत्त्वं क्रामणं चातिगुह्यकम् ॥ VII. 72-74.
 शृणु लोहान्यतःपरम् * * *
 सुवर्णं रजतं ताम्रं तीक्ष्णवङ्गभुजङ्गमाः ।
 लोहकं षड्विधं तच्च यथापूर्वं तदक्षयम् ॥ VII. 89-90.
 रसजं⁵ क्षेत्रजं चैव लोहसंकरजं तथा ।
 त्रिविधं जायते हेम चतुर्थं नोपलभ्यते ॥ VII. 92.
 लोहानां मारणं वक्ष्ये समाहितमनाः शृणु ।
 * * * * *
 नास्ति तल्लोहमातङ्गो यत्र गन्धककेशरी ।
 निहन्याद् गन्धमात्रेण यद्वा माक्षिककेशरी ॥
 VII. 138-142.

- (1) M. Ms. reads गन्धम् ।
 (2) This sloka is exactly the same as it is in Rr. by Nāg. I. 3.
 (3) ऊर्णालाक्षातथापथ्याभूलताधूमसंयुतः ।
 मूकमूषागतो धातष्टकणेन समन्वितः ॥
 सत्त्वं कुटिलसंकाशं पतति नात्रसंशयः ॥ Rr. by Nāg. II. 31-32.
 (4) M. Ms. reads पादचन्द्रमाय्यसंयुतम् ।
 (5) M. Ms. has रजस्क which is doubtful.

इति श्रीपार्वतीपरमेश्वरसंवादे रसार्णवे रससंहितायां महारसोपरस-
रत्नलोहलक्षणसंस्कारनिर्णयो नाम सप्तमः पटलः ।

श्रीभैरव उवाच—

कासीसं सैन्धवं माक्षी सौवीरं व्योषगन्धकम् ।

सौवर्चलं व्योषका च मालतीरससंभवः ॥ ¹

शिशुमूलरसैः सिक्तो विड़ोऽयं सर्व्वजारणः ॥ ² IX. 2-3.

* * * * *

गन्धतालकसिन्धूयचूलिकाष्टकणं तथा ।

क्षारैर्मूत्रैश्च विपचेदयं ज्वालामुखो विड़ः ॥ ³

* * * * *

एवं संगृह्य संभारं रसकर्म समाचरेत् ।

तन्ममाचक्ष्व देवेशि किमन्यच्छोतुमिच्छसि ॥ IX. 9-20.

इति श्रीपार्वतीपरमेश्वरसंवादे रससंहितायां विड़कथनो नाम
नवमः पटलः ।

काकमाक्षी जया ब्राह्मी मार्जारी रक्तचित्रकः ।

मण्डूका मुद्गपर्णी च शृङ्गवेरं ससांकुशम् (ससाङ्गरम् ?) ॥

देवदाली शंखपुष्पी काकजंघा शतावरी ।

कुमारी भृङ्गराजश्च निर्गुण्डी श्रीषसुन्दरः ।

शूलिनी सूर्यपर्णी च गोजिह्वा क्षीरकंडुकः ॥ X. 52-54.

तद्रसैः सर्व्वदा ⁴ पात्यः सप्तधा निर्मलो भवेत् ।

यामिन ⁵ पिष्टिकां कृत्वा पातयेद्दूर्ध्वपातने ।

(1) M. Ms. has सर्जिका and मालतीरससंभवम् ।

(2) Cf. Rasakalpa II. 51-66. Here व्योषगन्धकौ, सर्जिका and रससंयतैः seem to be correct.

(3) K. Ms. reads अत्र ज्वालामुखो विड़ः, which is grammatically incorrect.

(4) M. Ms. has सद्धितम् ।

(5) M. Ms. reads ताम्रेण ।

वङ्गनागौ परित्यज्य शुद्धो भवति सूतकः ॥ X. 55-56.

कासीसतुवरीसिन्धुटंकणचारसंयुतः ।

पूर्वभेषजयोगेन सूतकश्चरति क्षणात् ॥ XI. 24.

सौवर्चलं च कासीसं सामुद्रं सैन्धवं तथा ।

आसुरी टंकणं चैव नवसारस्तथैव च ॥

कर्पूरं चैव माक्षिकं समभागानि कारयेत् ।

सूक्ष्मार्कदुग्धैर्दंवेशि मूषालेपं तु कारयेत् ॥

विडचूर्णं ततो दत्त्वा कनकं जारयेत् प्रिये ॥ XI. 83-86.

नानावर्णं भवेत् सूतं विहाय घनचापलम् ।

लक्षणं दृश्यते यस्य सूक्ष्मं तं वदन्ति हि ॥

आर्द्रत्वं चपलत्वं¹ च तेजोगौरवचापलम् ।

यस्यैतानि न दृश्यन्ते विद्यात् तं मृतसूतकम् ॥²

XII. 197-198.

तीक्ष्णं नागं तथा शुक्लं रसकेन तु रञ्जयेत् ।

समस्तं जायते हेम कुष्माण्डकुसुमप्रभम् ॥ XII. 50.

पञ्चभूतात्मकः सूतस्तिष्ठत्येव सदाशिवः । XII. 50.

भस्मसूतं पलैकं च पलमेकं³ च गन्धकम् ।

पुटेन जायते भस्म सिन्दूरारुणसन्निभम् ॥ XIV. 81.

मयूरग्रीवतुल्यं च कुंकुमं रसकं तथा ।

वालवत्सपुरीषं च विषं हालाहलं तथा ॥

रक्तचित्रकचूर्णं तु समभागानि कारयेत् ।

मर्दयेन्मध्यमाग्नौ क्वायाशुष्कं च कारयेत् ॥

(1) M. Ms. reads घनत्वम्, which is preferable.

(2) Cf. आर्द्रत्वं च घनत्वं च चापल्यगुरुतेजसः ।

यस्यैतानि न दृश्यन्ते तं विद्यात् सूतकम् ॥

नानावर्णं भवेत् सूतं विहाय घनचापलम् ।

लक्षणं दृश्यते यस्य सूक्ष्मं तं वदन्ति हि ॥ Rr. by Nāg. IV.

(3) M. Ms. has * * * पलैकं पत्रगस्य च ।

ताम्रपात्रेण तं कृत्वा मर्दयेन्नीहमुष्टिना ।

मृद्वग्निना ततः पात्रं यावन्नाग्नौ मेलनम् ॥

मधुना सह संयोज्य नागपत्राणि लेपयेत् ।
मूकमूषागतं धातं नागं रञ्जयति क्षणात् ॥
अशोकपत्ररसेन सप्तवारं निषेचयेत् ।
अष्टविंशतिकृत्वो वै तैले भूनागसम्भवे ॥
तन्नागं जायते दिव्यं देवाभरणभूषणम् ॥ XVII. 70-74.

EXTRACTS FROM
RASARATNASAMUCHCHAYA.

B. = Benares Manuscript.

K. = Kāsmīr Manuscript.

रसोत्पत्तिर्नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

यस्यानन्दभवेन मङ्गलकलामभावितेन स्फुर-
द्धान्ना सिद्धरसामृतेन करुणावोक्षासुधासिन्धुना ।
भक्तानां प्रभवसंहतिजरारागादिरोगाः क्षणा-
च्छान्तिं यान्ति जगत्प्रधानभिषजे तस्मै परस्मै नमः ॥ 1.
आगमश्चन्द्रसेनश्च¹ लङ्गे शश्च विशारदः ।
कपाली मत्तमाण्डव्यौ भास्करः शूरसेनकः ॥
रत्नकोषश्च² शंभुश्च सात्त्विको नरवाहनः ।
इन्द्रो गोमुखश्चैव कम्बलिव्याडिरेव च ॥
नागार्जुनः सुरानन्दो नागवोधिर्यशोधनः ।
खण्डः कापालिको ब्रह्मा गोविन्दो लम्पको हरिः ॥
सप्तविंशतिसंख्यका रसमिद्धिप्रदायकाः ।
रसांकुशो भैरवश्च नन्दो स्वच्छन्दभैरवः ॥
मस्थानभैरवश्चैव काकचण्डीश्वरस्तथा ॥
वासुदेव ऋष्यशृङ्गः³ क्रियातन्त्रसमुच्चयी ॥

(1) आगमः, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

(2) रत्नकोषश्च, another reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

(3) ऋष्यशृङ्गः, a different reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

रसेन्द्रतिलको योगी भालुकिर्मथिलाह्वयः ।
 महादेवो नरेन्द्रश्च वासुदेवो¹ हरीश्वरः ॥ 2-7.
 एतेषां क्रियतेऽन्येषां तन्वाण्यालोक्य संग्रहः ।
 रसानामथ सिद्धानां चिकित्सार्थोपयोगिनाम् ॥
 सूनुना सिंहगुप्तस्य रसरत्नसमुच्चयः ।
 रसोपरसलोहानि यन्त्रादिकरणानि च ॥
 शुद्धार्थमपि लोहानां तन्त्रादिकरणानि च ।
 शुद्धिः सत्त्वं द्रुतिर्भस्मकरणञ्च प्रवक्ष्यते ॥ 8-10.
 हन्ति भक्षणमात्रेण पूर्वजन्माघसम्भवम् ।
 रोगसंघमशेषाणां नराणां नात्रसंशयः ॥ 26.
 यश्च निन्दति सूतेन्द्रं शम्भोस्तेजः परात्परम् ।
 स पतेन्नरके घोरे यावत् कल्पविकल्पनाम् ॥ 29.
 पतितो दरदे देशे गौरवाद्बल्लिवक्त्रतः ।
 स रसो भूतले लीनस्तत्तद्देशनिवासिनः ।
 तां मृदं पातनायन्त्रे क्षिप्वा सूतं हरन्ति च ॥ 89-90.

इति श्रीवैद्यपतिसिंहगुप्तस्य सूनीर्वाग्भटाचार्यस्य कृतौ रसरत्नसमुच्चये
 रसोत्पत्तिर्नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः । १ ।

अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

महारसाः ।

अभ्रवैक्रान्तमाक्षीकविमलाद्रिजसस्यकम् ।
 चपलोरसकश्चेति ज्ञात्वाष्टौ संग्रहेद्रसान् ॥ 1
 पिनाकं नागमण्डूकं वज्रमित्यभ्रकं मतम् ।
 श्वेतादिवर्णभेदेन प्रत्येकं तच्चतुर्विधम् ॥ 5.

(1) K. reads रवाकरहरीश्वरौ, which is probably the correct reading.

- श्वेतं रक्तं च पीतं च कृष्णमेवं चतुर्विधम् । 10.
 सुखनिर्मोच्यपत्रं च तदभ्रं शस्तमीरितम् ॥ 12.
 सचन्द्रिकं च किट्टाभं व्योम न ग्रासयेद्दरसम् ।
 ग्रसितश्च नियोज्योऽसौ लोहे चैव रसायने ॥ 13.
 निश्चन्द्रिकं मृतं व्योम सेव्यं सर्व्वगदेषु च ।
 सेवितं चन्द्रसंयुक्तं मेहं मन्दानलं चरेत् । 14.
 प्रतप्तं सप्तवाराणि निक्षिप्तं काञ्चिकेऽभ्रकम् ।
 निर्दोषं जायते नूनं प्रक्षिप्तं वापि गोजले ॥
 त्रिफलाकथिते चापि गवां दुग्धे विशेषतः । 17-18.
 चूर्णाभ्रं शालिसंयुक्तं वस्त्रवद्धं हि काञ्चिके ।
 निर्यातं मर्द्दनाद् वस्त्राद्धान्याभ्रमिति कथ्यते ॥ 23.
 धान्याभ्रं कासमर्द्दस्य रसेन परिमर्द्दितम् ।
 पुटितं दशवारेण म्रियते नात्र संशयः ॥ 24.

अथ वैक्रान्तः—

- अष्टास्रश्चाष्टफलकः षट्कोणो मसृणो गुरुः ।
 शुद्धमिश्रितवर्णेश्च युक्तो वैक्रान्त उच्यते ॥
 श्वेतो रक्तश्च पीतश्च नीलः पारावतच्छविः ।
 श्यामलः कृष्णवर्णश्च कर्बुरश्चाष्टधा हि सः ॥ 55-56.
 आयुःप्रदश्च वलवर्णकरोऽतिवृष्यः
 प्रज्ञाप्रदः सकलदोषगदापहारी ।
 दीप्ताग्निक्तत् पविसमानगुणस्तरस्त्री
 वैक्रान्तकः खलु वपुर्वललोहकारी ॥
 रसायनेषु सर्वेषु पूर्वगण्यः प्रतापवान् ।
 वज्रस्थाने नियोक्तव्यो वैक्रान्तः सर्वदोषहा ॥ 57-58.
 * * वैक्रान्तं वज्राकारं महारसम् ।
 विन्धस्य दक्षिणे वाऽस्ति ह्युत्तरे वाऽस्ति सर्व्वतः ।
 विक्रामयति लोहानि तेन वैक्रान्तकः स्मृतः ॥

वैक्रान्तकाः स्युस्त्रिदिनं विशुद्धाः संस्त्रेदिताः चारपटूनि दत्त्वा ।
 अग्नौ मूत्रेषु कुलथरम्भानीरेऽथवा कीदृववारिपक्वाः ॥
 कुलथक्कायसंस्त्रिन्नो वैक्रान्तः परिशुध्यति ।
 म्रियतेऽष्टपुटैर्गन्धनिम्बुकद्रवसंयुतः ॥ 67-68.
 भस्मीभूतं तु वैक्रान्तं वज्रस्थाने नियोजयेत् । 79.

अथ माक्षिकम्—

सुवर्णशैलप्रभवो विष्णुना काञ्चनो रसः ।
 तापीकिरातचीतुषु¹ यवेनषु च निर्मितः ॥ 77.
 माक्षिकं द्विविधं हेममाक्षिकन्तारमाक्षिकम् ।
 तत्रायं माक्षिकं कान्यकुञ्जोत्थं स्वर्णसंनिभम् ॥ 80.
 पाषाण वह्नलः प्रोक्तस्ताराख्योऽल्पगुणात्मकः ॥ 81.
 मातुलुङ्गाम्बुगन्धाभ्यां पिष्टां मूषोदरे स्थितम् ।
 पञ्चक्रोडपुटैर्दग्धं म्रियते माक्षिकं खलु ॥ 84.
 क्षौद्रगन्धर्वतैलाभ्यां गोमूत्रेण घृतेन च ।
 कदलीकन्दसारेण भावितं माक्षिकं मुहुः ।
 मूषायां मुञ्चति धातं सत्त्वं शुल्वनिभं मृदु ॥² 89-90.

अथ विमलः—

विमलस्त्रिविधः प्रोक्तो हेमाद्यस्तारपूर्वकः ।
 तृतीयः कांस्यविमलस्तत्तत्कान्त्या स लक्ष्यते ॥ 96.
 वर्तुलः कीणसंयुक्तः स्निग्धश्च फलकान्वितः । 97.
 गन्धाश्मलकुचाम्लैश्च म्रियते दशभिः पुटैः ॥ 100.
 सटङ्कलकुचद्रावैर्मषशृङ्गाश्च भस्मना ।
 पिष्ट्वा मूषोदरे लिप्तः संशोष्य च निरुध्य च ॥

(1) तापी, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

(2) Verses 89-90 as also 103-104 occur both in Rasārṇava and Rr. by Nāg; the Poona ed. reads पतते ।

पट्प्रस्थकोकिलैर्धातो विमलः सीससंनिभः ।¹

सत्त्वं मुञ्चति तद्युक्तो रसः स्यात् रसायनः ॥ 101-102.

विमलं शिशुतोयेन काङ्क्षीकासीसटंकणैः ।

वज्रकन्दसमायुक्तं भावितं कदलीरसैः ॥

मोक्षकच्चारसंयुक्तं धापितं मूकमूषगम् ।

सत्त्वं चन्द्रार्कसंकाशं प्रयच्छति न संशयः ॥ 103-104.

अथ शिलाधातुः—

शिलाधातुर्द्विधा प्रोक्तो गोमूत्राद्यो रसायनः ।

कर्परपूर्वकश्चान्यस्तत्राद्यो द्विविधः पुनः ॥ 109.

ग्रीष्मे तीव्रार्कतपेभ्यः पादेभ्यो हिमभृभृतः ।

स्वर्णरूप्यार्कगर्भेभ्यः शिलाधातुर्विनिःसरेत् ॥ 110-111.

अथ मस्यकः—

मयूरकण्ठवच्छायं भाराढ्यमतिशस्यते ॥ 127.

मयूरतुल्यम्—

रसायनं वमनरककरं गरुडं

श्वित्रापहं गदितमत्र मयूरतुल्यम् ॥ 129.

लकुचद्रावगन्धाश्मटङ्गणैर्न समन्वितम् ।

निरुध्य मूषिकामध्ये म्रियते कौकुटैःपुटेः ॥ 132.

मस्यकस्य तु चूर्णे तु पादसौभाग्यसंयुतम् ।

करञ्जतैलमध्यस्थं दिनमेकं निधापयेत् ॥

मध्यस्थमन्यमूषायां² धापयेत् कोकिलत्रयम् ।

इन्द्रगोपाकृति चैव सत्त्वं भवति³ शोभनम् ॥ 133-134.

(1) Both the B. and K. Mss. read सीससन्निभः । The Poona ed. gives a variant शीतसन्निभः ।

(2) The Poona ed. reads अन्यमूषास्यमध्यस्थम् । We have adopted the reading of *Rasārṇava*.

(3) पतति another reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. K. and *Rasārṇava*.

निम्बुद्रवाल्पटङ्काभ्यां मूषामध्ये निरुध्य च ।
 ताम्बूरूपं परिधातं सत्त्वं मुञ्चति सस्यकम् ॥ 135.
 शुद्धं सस्यं शिखिकान्तं¹ पूर्वभेषजसंयुतम् ।
 नानाविधानयोगिन सत्त्वं मुञ्चति निश्चितम् ॥ 136.

अथ चपलः—

गौरः श्वेतोऽरुणः कृष्णश्चपलस्तु चतुर्विधः ।
 हेमाभश्चैव ताराभो विशेषाद् रसवन्धनः ॥ 143.
 शेषो तु मध्यो लालावच्छीघ्रद्रावो तु निष्फलो ।
 वङ्गवद् द्रवते वह्नी चपलस्तेन कीर्तितः ॥² 144.
 चपलः स्फटिकच्छायः षडस्रः³ स्निग्धकोगुरुः ॥ 146.

अथ रसकः—

रसको द्विविधः प्रोक्तो दुर्दुरः कारवेक्षकः ।
 सदलो दुर्दुरः प्रोक्तो निर्दलः कारवेक्षकः ॥ 149.
 खर्परः परिसन्तप्तः सप्तवारं निमज्जितः ।
 वीजपूररसस्यान्तर्निर्मलत्वं समश्नुते ॥
 नृभूत्वे वाश्वमूत्वे वा तत्रे वा काञ्चिकेऽथवा ।
 प्रताप्य मज्जितं सभ्यक् खर्परं परिशुध्यति ॥ 154-155.
 हरिद्रात्रिफलारालसिन्धुधूमैः सटङ्कणैः ॥
 सारुष्करैश्च पादांशैः सान्त्रैः संमर्द्य खर्परम् ।
 लिप्तं वृन्ताकमूषायां शोषयित्वा निरुध्य च ॥
 मूषां⁴ मूषोपरि न्यस्य खर्परं प्रधमेत् ततः ।
 खर्परे प्रहृते ज्वाला भवेन्नीला सिता यदि ॥

(1) The Poona ed. reads शिलाकान्तम् ।

(2) Slokās 143 and 144 are from *Rasārnava*.

(3) षडस्रः another reading in the Poona ed. which we have adopted. slokas 143-146 are evidently borrowed with slight modifications from *Rasārnava* VII. 27-27.

(4) मूषां मूषोपरि, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

तदा सन्दंशतो मूषां धृत्वा कृत्वा त्वधोमुखीम् ।
 शनैरास्फालयेद् भूमौ यथा नालं न भज्यते ॥
 वङ्गाभं पतितं सत्त्वं समादाय नियोजयेत् । 157-161.
 लालागुडासुरीपथ्याहरिद्रासर्जटङ्गणैः ।
 सम्यक् संचूर्ण्य तत्पक्वं गोदुग्धेन घृतेन च ॥
 वृन्ताकमूपिकामध्ये निरुध्य गुटिकाकृति ।
 धात्वा धात्वा समाकृत्य ढालयित्वा शिलातले ।
 सत्त्वं वङ्गाकृति ग्राह्यं रसकस्य मनोहरम् ॥ 163-164.
 यद्वा जलयुतां स्थालीं निखनेत् कोष्ठिकोदरे ।
 सच्छिद्रं तन्मुखे मल्लं तन्मुखेऽधोमुखं¹ क्षिपेत् ।
 मूषोपरि शिखित्रांश्च प्रक्षिप्य प्रधमेददृढम् ॥
 पतितं स्थालिकानीरं सत्त्वमादाय योजयेत् । 165-166.
 तत् सत्त्वं तालाकोपितं प्रक्षिप्य खलु खर्परे ।
 मर्दयेत्लोहदण्डेन भस्मीभवति निश्चितम् ॥ 167-168.

अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।

अथोपरसाः साधारणरसाश्च ।

अथ गन्धकः—

गन्धाश्मगैरिकामीसकाङ्क्षीतालशिलाञ्जनम् ।
 कङ्कुष्टं चेत्युपरमाश्चाष्टौ पारदकर्मणि ॥ 1.
 स चापि त्रिविधो देवि शुकचञ्चुनिभो वरः ।
 मध्यमः पीतवर्णः स्याच्छुक्लवर्णोऽधमः प्रिये ॥ 12.
 चतुर्धा गन्धकोञ्जयोवर्णैः श्वेतादिभिः खलु ।
 * * * * *
 दुर्लभः कृष्णवर्णश्च स जरामृत्युनाशनः ॥ 13-15.

(1) तन्मुखेऽधोमुखं, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

गन्धको द्रावितो भृङ्गरसे क्षिप्तो विशुध्यति । 23.

स्थाल्यां दुग्धं विनिक्षिप्य मुखे वस्त्रं निरुध्य च ।

गन्धकं तत्र निक्षिप्य चूर्णितं सिकताकृति ।

छादयेत् पृथुदीर्घेण खर्परिणैव गन्धकम् ।

ज्वालयेत् खर्परस्योद्ध्वं वनच्छाणैस्तथोपलैः ॥

दुग्धे निपतितो गन्धो गलितः परिशुध्यति ॥ 24-25.

अथ गैरिकम्—

पाषाणगैरिकं चैकं द्वितीयं स्वर्णगैरिकम् ।

पाषाणगैरिकं प्रोक्तं कठिनं ताम्रवर्णकम् ॥ 46.

गैरिकं तु गवां दुग्धैर्भावितं शुद्धिमृच्छति । 49.

अथ कासीसम्—

कासीसं वालुकाद्येकं पुष्पपूर्वमथापरम् । 51.

तुवरीसत्त्ववत् सत्त्वमेतस्यापि समाहरेत् । 54.

अथ तुवरी—

सौराष्ट्राग्निं संभृता¹ मृत्स्ना सा तुवरी मता ।

वस्त्रेषु लिप्यते यासी मञ्जिष्टाराग्रवन्धिनी ॥

* * फुल्लिका चेति द्वितीया परिकीर्त्तिता

ईषत्पीता गुरुस्निग्धा * * *

निर्भारा शुभ्रवर्णा च स्निग्धा साम्नापरा मता ।

सा फुल्लतुवरी प्रोक्ता लेपात् ताम्रं चरेदयः ॥ 62.

काङ्क्षी कषाया कटुकाम्लकण्ठा केश्या व्रणघ्नी विषनाशनी च ।

श्वित्रापहा नेत्रहिता त्रिदोषशान्तिप्रदा पारदजारणी च ॥ 63.

तुवरी काञ्जिके क्षिप्ता त्रिदिनाच्छुद्धिमृच्छति ।

क्षारान्तेर्मर्दिता धाता सत्त्वं मुञ्चति निश्चितम् ॥ 64.

गोपितं न शतं वारान् सौराष्ट्रीं भावयेत् ततः ।

धमित्वा पातयेत् सत्त्वं कामणं चातिगुह्यकम् ॥ 65.

(1) सौराष्ट्राग्नि, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B and K.

अथ तालकम्—

हरितालं द्विधाप्रोक्तं पत्राख्यं¹ पिण्डसंज्ञकम् ।
 खर्णवर्णं गुरुं स्निग्धं तनुपत्रं च भासुरम् ॥ 66.
 स्निग्धं कुष्माण्डतोये वा तिलक्षारजलेऽपि वा ।
 तोये वा चूर्णसंयुक्ते दीलायन्त्रेण शुध्यति ॥ 69.
 मधुतुल्ये घनीभूते कषाये ब्रह्ममूलजे ।
 त्रिवारं तालकं भाव्यं पिष्ट्वा मूत्रेऽथ माहिषे ॥
 उपलैर्दशभिर्दयं पुटं रुद्ध्वाथ पेषयेत् ।
 एवं द्वादशधा पाच्यं शुद्धं योगेषु योजयेत् ॥ 74-75.
 पलालकं रवेर्दुग्धैर्दिनमेकं विमर्दयेत् ।
 क्षिप्त्वा षोडशिकातैले मिश्रयित्वा ततः पचेत् ॥
 अनावृतप्रदेशे च सप्तयामावधि ध्रुवम् ।
 स्वाङ्गशीतमधस्थं च सत्त्वं श्वेतं समाहरेत् ॥ 80-81.

अथ मनःशिला—

अष्टमांशेन किट्टेन गुडगुगुलुसर्पिषा ।
 कोष्ठयां रुद्धा दृढं धाता सत्त्वं मुञ्चेन्मनःशिला ॥ 95.

अथाञ्जनानि—

सौवीरमञ्जनं प्रोक्तं रसाञ्जनमतः परम् ।
 स्त्रीतोऽञ्जनं तदन्यच्च पुष्पाञ्जनकमेव च ॥
 नीलाञ्जनं च तेषां हि स्वरूपमिह वर्ण्यते ।
 सौवीरमञ्जनं धूम्रं रक्तपित्तहरं हिमम् ॥ 98-99.
 अञ्जनानि विशुध्यन्ति भृङ्गराजनिजद्रवैः ।
 मनोह्रासत्त्ववत् सत्त्वमञ्जनानां समाहरेत् ॥
 वल्मीकशिखराकारं भङ्गे नीलोत्पलद्युति ।
 घृष्टं तु गैरिकच्छायं स्त्रीतोजं लक्षयेद्बुधः ॥

(1) The Poona ed. reads पत्राख्यं and K. reads पत्राख्यं, which we have adopted.

गोशक्लृद्रसमूत्रेषु घृतचौद्रवसासु च ।

भावितं बहुशस्तच्च शीघ्रं वध्नाति सूतकम् ॥ 105-107.

अथ कङ्कुष्टम्—

हिमवत्पादशिखरे कङ्कुष्टमुपजायते । 109.

केचिद् वदन्ति कङ्कुष्टं सद्योजातस्य दन्तिनः । 111.

वदन्ति खेतपीताभं तदतीवविरचनम् । 112.

अथ साधारणरसाः—

कम्पिल्लश्चपरो गौरीपाषाणो नवसारकः ।

कपर्दी वह्निजारश्च गिरिसिन्दूरहिङ्गुलौ ॥

मृदारशृङ्गमित्यष्टौ साधारणरसाः स्मृताः ।

रससिद्धिकराः प्रोक्ता नागार्ज्जुनपुरःसरैः ॥ 120-121.

अथ कम्पिल्लः—

इष्टिकाचूर्णसंकाशश्चन्द्रिकाब्धोऽतिरेचनः ।

सौराष्ट्रदेशे चोत्पन्नः स हि कमिपल्लकः स्मृतः ॥ 122.

अथ गौरीपाषाणः—

स्फटिकाभश्च शङ्खाभो हरिद्राभस्त्रयः स्मृताः ।

तालवद् वाहयेत् सत्त्वं शुद्धं शुभ्रं प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 124-126.

अथ नवसारः—

करीरपीलुकाष्ठेषु पच्यमानेषु चोद्भवः ।

क्षारोऽसौ नवसारः स्याच्चूलिकालवणाभिधः ॥

इष्टिकादहने जातं पाण्डुरं लवणं लघु ।

तदुक्तं नवसाराख्यं चूलिकालवणं च तत् ।

रसेन्द्रजारणं लोहद्रावणं जठराग्निकृतम् ॥

गुल्मप्लीहास्यशोषघ्नं भुक्तमांसादिजारणम् । 127-129.

अथ वराटकाः—

पीताभा ग्रन्थिका पृष्ठे दीर्घवृत्ता वराटिका ।

रसवैद्यैर्विनिर्दिष्टा सा चराचरसंज्ञिका ॥ 130.

वराटाः काञ्जिके खिन्ना यामाच्छुद्धिमवाप्नुयुः ॥ 134.

अथाग्निजारः—

समुद्रेणाग्निनक्रस्य जरायुर्वहिरुज्झितः ।
संशुष्को भानुतापेन सोऽग्निजार इति स्मृतः ॥ 135.

अथ गिरिसिन्दूरम्—

महागिरिषु चाल्पायःपाषाणान्तःस्थितो रसः । 137.

अथ हिङ्गलः—

एतस्मादाहृतः सूतो जीर्णगन्धसमो गुणैः ॥ 141.
दरदः पातनायन्ते पातितश्च जलाश्रये ।
तत्सत्त्वं सूतसङ्काशं पातयेन्नात्र संशयः ॥ 144.

अथ मृद्वारशृङ्गकम्—

सदलं पीतवर्णं च भवेद् गुर्जरमण्डले ।
अर्वुदस्य गिरिः पार्श्वे जातं मृद्वारशृङ्गकम् ॥
सीससत्त्वं गुरु श्लेष्मशमनं पुंगदापहम् ।
रसवन्धनमुत्कृष्टं केशरञ्जनमुत्तमम् ॥
साधारणरसाः सर्वे मातुलुङ्गार्द्रकाम्बुना ।
त्रिरात्रं भाविताः शुष्का भवेयुर्दोषवर्जिताः ॥ 145-147.

अथ राजावर्त्तः—

राजावर्त्तोऽल्परक्तोरुनीलिममिश्रितप्रभः ।¹ 149.
लुङ्गाम्बुगन्धकोपितो राजावर्त्तो विचूर्णितः ।
पुटनात् सप्तवारिण राजावर्त्तो मृतो भवेत् ॥ 153,

(1) नीलिममिश्रितप्रभः, another reading in the Poona ed., which agrees with B. and K., but it is grammatically inaccurate.

अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

अथ रत्नानि ।

अथ मणयः—

मणयोऽपि च विज्ञेयाः सूतवन्धस्य कारकाः ।
 वैक्रान्तः सूर्यकान्तश्च हीरकं मौक्तिकं मणिः ॥
 चन्द्रकान्तस्तथा चैव राजावर्तश्च सप्तमः ।
 गरुडोद्गारकश्चैव ज्ञातव्या मणयस्त्वमी ॥
 पुष्परागं महानीलं पद्मरागं प्रवालकम् ।
 वैदुर्यं च तथानीलमेते च मणयो मताः ॥ 1-3.

अथ वज्रम्—

वज्रं च त्रिविधं प्रोक्तं नरो नारी नपुंसकम् ।
 पूर्वं पूष्मिह श्रेष्ठं रसवीर्यविपाकतः ॥ 26.
 अष्टास्रं चाष्टफलकं षट्कोणमतिभासुरम् ।
 अम्बुदेन्द्रधनुर्वारितरं पुंवज्रमुच्यते ॥ 27.
 तदेव चिपिटाकारं स्त्रीवज्रं वर्तुलायतम् ।
 वर्तुलं कुण्डकोणाग्रं किञ्चिद्गुरु नपुंसकम् ॥ 28.
 श्वेतादिवर्णभेदेन तदेकैकं चतुर्विधम् ।
 ब्रह्मक्षत्रियविट्शूद्रं स्वस्ववर्णफलप्रदम् ॥ 30.
 आयुःप्रदं भटिति सद्गुणदं च वृथं
 दोषत्रयप्रशमनं सकलामयघ्नम् ।
 सुतेन्द्रवन्धवधसद्गुणकृत् प्रदीपनम्
 मृत्युञ्जयं तदमृतोपममेव वज्रम् ॥ 32.
 कुलत्यकाथके स्त्रिन्नं कीदृक्कथितेन वा ।
 एकयामावधि स्त्रिन्नं वज्रं शुध्यति निश्चितम् ॥
 वज्रं मत्कुण्डरक्तेन चतुर्वारं विभावितम् ।
 सुगन्धिमूषिकामासैर्वर्तितैः परिवेष्ट्य च ॥¹

(1) परिवेष्ट्य च, another reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

पुटेत् पुटैर्वराहाख्यैस्त्रिंशद्वारं ततः परम् ।
 धात्वा धात्वा शतं वारान् कुलत्यक्काथके क्षिपेत् ॥
 अन्यैरुक्तं शतं वारान् कर्त्तव्योऽयं विधिक्रमः ॥ 34-37.
 कुलत्यक्काथसंयुक्तलकुचद्रवपिष्टया ।
 शिलया लिप्तमूषायां वज्रं क्षिप्वा निरुध्य च ॥
 अष्टवारं पुटेत् सम्यग् विशुष्कैश्च वनोपलैः ।
 शतवारं ततो धात्वा निक्षिप्तं शुद्धपारदे ॥
 निश्चितं म्रियते वज्रं भस्म वारितरं भवेत् ॥ 38-39.
 सत्यवाक् सोमसेनानीरितद्वज्रस्य मारणम् ।
 दृष्टप्रत्ययसंयुक्तमुक्तवान् रसकौतुकी ॥ 40.
 विलिप्तं मत्कुणस्यास्त्रे सप्तवारं विशोषितम् ॥
 कासमर्दरसापूर्णं लोहपात्रे निवेशितम् ।
 सप्तवारं परिष्कातं वज्रभस्म भवेत् खलु ॥
 ब्रह्मज्योतिर्मुनीन्द्रेण क्रमोऽयं परिकीर्तितः । 41-43.
 मदनस्य फलोद्भूतरसेन क्षौणिनागकैः ।
 कृतकल्केन संलिप्य पुटेद्दिंशतिवारकम् ॥
 वज्रचूर्णं भवेद् वर्यं योजयेच्च रसादिषु ॥ 44-45.

अथ रत्नभस्मक्रमः—

लकुचद्रावसंपिष्टैः शिलागन्धकतालकैः ।
 वज्रं विनान्यरत्नानि म्रियन्तेऽष्टपुटैः खलु ॥ 63.
 रामठं पञ्चलवणं क्षाराणां त्रितयं तथा ।
 मांसद्राव्यस्त्रवेतश्च¹ चूलिकालवणं तथा ॥
 स्थूलं कुम्भीफलं पक्वं तथा ज्वालामुखी शुभा ।
 द्रवन्ती च रुदन्ती च पयस्या चित्रमूलकम् ॥
 दुग्धं सुह्यास्तथार्कस्य सर्व्वं संमर्द्य यत्नतः ।
 गोलं विधाय नन्मध्ये प्रक्षिपेत् तदनन्तरम् ॥

(1) मांसद्राव्यस्त्रवेतश्च, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted and which also agrees with B. and K.

गुणवन्नवरत्नानि जातिमन्ति शुभानि च ।
 भूर्जे तं गोलकं कृत्वा सूत्रेणावेष्ट्य यत्नतः ॥
 पुनर्वस्त्रेण संवेष्ट्य दोलायन्ते निधाय च ।
 सर्व्वस्त्रियुक्तसन्धानपरिपूर्णघटोदरे ॥
 अहोरात्रत्रयं यावत् स्वेदयेत् तीव्रवह्निना ।
 तस्मादाहृत्य संचान्द्य रत्नजां द्रुतिमाहरेत् ॥ 64-69.
 मुक्ताचूर्णं तु सप्ताहं वेतसाम्नेन मर्दितम् ।
 जम्बीरोदरमध्ये तु धान्यराशौ विनिक्षिपेत् ॥
 सप्ताहादुद्धृतं चैव पुटे दत्त्वा द्रुतिं हरेत् ।¹ 70-71.
 वज्रवज्रान्तरस्थं च कृत्वा वज्रं निरोधयेत् ।
 अस्त्रभागङ्गतं स्वेद्यं सप्ताहाद्भवतां व्रजेत् ॥ 72.

अथ वैक्रान्तम्—

श्वेतवर्णं तु वैक्रान्तमस्त्रवेतसभावितम् ।
 सप्ताहान्नात्र सन्देहः खरघर्म्मं द्रवत्यलम् ॥ 73.
 केतकीस्वरसौ ग्राह्यः सैन्धवं स्वर्णपुष्पिका ।
 इन्द्रगोपकसंयुक्तं सर्व्वं भाण्डे विनिक्षिपेत् ॥
 सप्ताहं स्वेदयेदस्मिन् वैक्रान्तं द्रवतां व्रजेत् । 74-75.

अथ पञ्चमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ लोहानि ।

अथ हिमगुणाः—

शुद्धं लोहं कनकरजतं भानुलोहाश्मसारं
 पूतलोहं द्वितयमुदितं नागवङ्गाभिधानम् ।
 मिश्रं लोहं त्रितयमुदितं पित्तलं कांस्यवर्त्तं
 धातुलोहे लुह इति मतः सोऽप्यनेकार्थवाची ॥² 1.

(1) द्रुतिं हरेत्, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

(2) सोऽप्यनेकार्थवाची, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

प्राकृतं सहजं वल्लिसम्भूतं खनिसम्भवम् ।
 रसेन्द्रवेधसञ्जातं स्वर्णं पञ्चविधं स्मृतम् ॥ 2.
 मौख्यं वीर्यं बलं हन्ति रोगवर्गं करोति च ।
 अशुद्धं न स्मृतं स्वर्णं तस्माच्छुद्धं समाचरेत् ॥ 11.
 सुवर्णपत्रं¹ तनु कर्षमानं शरावरुद्धं पटुधातुयुक्तम् ।
 अङ्गारसंस्थं प्रहरार्द्धमानं धानेन तत् स्थान्ननु पूर्णवर्णम्² ॥ 12
 लोहानां मारणं श्रेष्ठं सर्वेषां रसभस्मना ।
 मूलीभिर्मध्यमं प्राहुः कनिष्ठं गन्धकादिभिः ॥ 13.
 अरिलोहेन लोहस्य मारणं दुर्गुणप्रदम् ।
 कृत्वा कण्टकवेध्यानि स्वर्णपत्राणि लेपयेत् ।
 लुङ्गाम्बुभस्मसूतं स्त्रियते दशभिः पुटैः ॥ 14.
 द्रुतं विनिक्षिपेत् स्वर्णं लोहमानं स्मृतं रसम् ।
 विचूर्ण्य लुङ्गतोयेन दरदेन समन्वितम् ॥
 जायते कुङ्कुमच्छायं स्वर्णं द्वादशभिः पुटैः ॥ 15-16.
 हिमः पादं स्मृतं सूतं पिष्टमसस्त्रेन केनचित् ।
 पत्रे लिप्त्वा पुटैः³ पाच्यं दशभिर्भ्रियते ध्रुवम् ॥ 87.

अथ रजतम्—

सहजं खनिसंजातं कृत्रिमं च त्रिधा⁴ मतम् ॥ 22.
 नागेन टङ्कनेनैव वापितं शुद्धिसृच्छति ।
 खर्परं भस्मचूर्णाभ्यां परितः पालिकां चरेत् ॥
 तत्र रूप्यं विनिक्षिप्य समसीससमन्वितम् ।
 जातसीसत्तयं यावद्धमेत् तावत् पुनः पुनः ॥

(1) सुवर्णपत्रं तनु कर्षमानं, another reading in the Poona ed., which we have accepted.

(2) पूर्णवर्णम्, a different reading in the Poona ed., which we have retained.

(3) पुटैः पाच्यं दशभिः, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

(4) च त्रिधा, another reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

एवं संशोधितं रूप्यं योजनीयं रसादिषु । 32-34.

लकुचद्रवसूताभ्यां तारपत्रं प्रलेपयेत् ॥

ऊर्द्धाधो गन्धकं दत्त्वा मूपामध्ये निरुध्य च ।

स्वेदयेद्वालुकायन्त्रे दिनमेकं दृढाग्निना ॥

स्नाङ्गशीतां च तां पिष्टिं साम्बतालेन मर्दिताम् ।

पुटेद्वादशवाराणि भस्मीभवति रूप्यकम् ॥ 35-37.

माक्षीकचूर्णलुङ्गास्त्रमर्दितं पुटितं शनैः ।

त्रिंशद्वारेण तत् तारं भस्मसाज्जायतेतराम् ॥ 38.

तारपत्रं चतुर्भागं भागैकं शुद्धतालकम् ।

मर्द्य¹ जम्बीरजद्रावैस्तारपत्राणि लेपयेत् ॥

शोषयेदन्ययन्त्रे च त्रिंशदुपलकैः पचेत् ।

चतुर्दशपुटैरेवं निरुध्यं जायते ध्रुवम् ॥ 40-41.

अथ ताम्रम्—

स्नेच्छं नेपालकं चेति तयोर्नेपालमुत्तमम् ।

नेपालादन्यखन्युत्थं स्नेच्छमित्यभिधीयते ॥ 44.

जम्बीररससंपिष्टरसगन्धकलेपितम् ।

शुल्बपत्रं शरावस्थं त्रिपुटैर्याति पञ्चताम् ॥ 55.

अथायः—

मुण्डं तीक्ष्णं च कान्तं च त्रिप्रकारमयः स्मृतम् ।

अथमुण्डम्—

मृदु कुण्ठं कडारं च त्रिविधं मुण्डमुच्यते ॥ 70.

द्रुतद्रावमविस्फोटं चिक्कणं मृदु तच्छुभम् ।

हतं यत् प्रसरद्दुःखात् तत्कुण्ठं मध्यमं स्मृतम् ॥

यद्धतं भज्यते भङ्गे कृष्णं स्यात् तत् कडारकम् ॥ 71-72.

अथ तीक्ष्णम्—

* * * पङ्क्तिविधं तीक्ष्णमुच्यते ॥ 75.

(1) The Poona ed. reads मर्द्य, which is grammatically inaccurate.

परुषं पोगरोन्मुक्तं भङ्गे पारदवच्छवि ।

नमने भङ्गुरं यत् तत् खरलोहमुदाहृतम् ॥ 76.

वेगभङ्गोरुधारं¹ यत् सारलोहं तदीरितम् । 78.

अथ कान्तम्—

भ्रामकं चुम्बकं चैव कर्षकं द्रावकं तथा ।

एवं चतुर्विधं कान्तं रोमकान्तं च पञ्चमम् ॥

एकद्वित्रिचतुःपञ्चसर्वतोमुखमेव यत् ।

पीतं कृष्णं तथा रक्तं त्रिवर्णं स्यात् पृथक् पृथक् ॥ 84-85.

भ्रामयेल्लोहजातं तु तत् कान्तं भ्रामकं मतम् ॥

चुम्बयेच्चुम्बकं कान्तं कर्षयेत् कर्षकं तथा ।

साक्षाद् यद् द्रावयेल्लोहं तत् कान्तं द्रावकं भवेत् ॥

तद् रोमकान्तं स्फुटिताद् यतो रोमोद्गमो भवेत् । 88.

मदीन्मत्तगजः सूतः कान्तमङ्गुशमुच्यते ॥

क्षेत्रं खात्वा ग्रहीतव्यं तत् प्रयत्नेन धीमता ।

मारुतातपविच्छिप्तं वर्जयेन्नात्र संशयः ॥ 92-93.

पात्रे² यस्य प्रसरति जले तैलविन्दुर्न लिप्तं

गन्धं हिङ्गं त्यजति च तथा तिक्ततां निम्बकल्कः ।

पाके दुग्धं भवति शिखराकारकं³ नैति भूमिं

कान्तं लोहं तदिदमुदितं लक्षणोक्तं न चान्यत् ॥

रेतितं घृतसंयुक्तं क्षिप्वायः खर्परे पचेत् ।

(1) The Poona ed. reads वेगभङ्गोरुधारम्, which is grammatically inaccurate.

(2) Cf. यत्पात्रे न प्रसरति जले तैलविन्दुः प्रतप्ते
हिङ्गुर्गन्धं त्यजति च निजं तिक्ततां निम्बकल्कः ।
तप्तं दुग्धं भवति शिखराकारकं नैति भूमिं
कृष्णाङ्गः स्यात् सजलचणकः कान्तलोहं तदुक्तम् ॥

भावप्रकाशे कान्तलोहप्रकरणम् ।

(3) A variant in the Poona ed., which agrees with the भावप्रकाश, as quoted in the foot-note.

चालयेन्नोहदण्डेन यावत् क्षिप्तं दृष्टं दहेत् ॥
 पिष्टा पिष्टा पचेदेवं पञ्चवारमतः परम् ।
 धात्रीफलरसैर्यद्वा त्रिफलाक्षयितोदकैः ।
 पुटेन्नोहं चतुर्वारं भवेद् वारितरं खलु ॥ 103-105.
 तीक्ष्णलोहस्य पत्राणि निर्दलानि दृढेऽनले ।
 धात्वा क्षिपेज्जले सद्यः पाषाणोलूखलोदरे ॥
 खण्डयेद् गाढनिघर्तैः स्थूलया लोहपारया ।
 तन्मध्यात् स्थूलखण्डानि ¹ रुद्धा मल्लदयान्तरे ॥
 धात्वा क्षिप्वा जले सम्यक् पूर्ववत् कण्डयेत् खलु ।
 तच्चूर्णं सूतगन्धाभ्यां पुटेद् विंशतिवारकम् ॥
 पुटे पुटे विधातव्यं पेषणं दृढवत्तरम् ।
 एवं भस्मीकृतं लोहं तत् तद् रोगेषु योजयेत् ॥ 107-110.
 जम्बीरैरालनालैर्वा विंशत्यंशेन हिङ्गुलम् ।
 पिष्टा रुद्धा पचेन्नोहं तद्रवैः पाचयेत् पुनः ॥
 चत्वारिंशत् पुटैरेवं कान्तं तीक्ष्णं च मुण्डकम् ।
 म्रियते नात्रसन्देहो दत्त्वा दत्त्वैव हिङ्गुलम् ॥ 113-115.
 शुद्धसूतं द्विधा गन्धं खल्वे तु कृतकज्जलीम् ।
 द्वयोः समं लोहचूर्णं मर्दयेत् कन्यकाद्रवैः ॥
 यामद्वयात् समुद्धृत्य तद्गोलं ताम्रपात्रके । ²
 आच्छाद्यैरण्डपत्रैश्च यामार्द्धेऽत्युष्णता भवेत् ॥
 धान्यराशौ न्यसेत् पश्चात् त्रिदिनान्ते समुद्धरेत् ।
 मंषेथ गालयेद् वस्त्रे सत्त्वं वारितरं भवेत् ॥
 कान्तं तीक्ष्णं च मुण्डं च निरुध्यं जायते ध्रुवम् ।
 स्वर्णादीन् मारयेदेवं चूर्णं कृत्वा च लोहवत् ॥ 134-137.

(1) तन्मध्यात्, another reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

(2) ताम्रपात्रके, another reading in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

लोहकिट्टं सुसन्तप्तं यावज्जीर्यति तत् स्वयम् ।
 तच्चूर्णं जायते पेष्यं मण्डूरोऽयं प्रयोज्यते ॥ 147.
 ये गुणा मारिते मुण्डे ते गुणा मुण्डकिट्टके ।
 तस्मात् सर्वत्र मण्डूरं रोगशान्त्यै प्रयोजयेत् ॥ 148.

अथ वङ्गम्—

खुरकं मिश्रकं चेति द्विविधं वङ्गमुच्यते ।
 खुरं तत्र गुणैः श्रेष्ठं मिश्रकं न हितं मतम् ॥ 153.
 धवलं मृदुलं स्निग्धं द्रुतद्रावं सगौरवम् ।
 निःशब्दं खुरवङ्गं स्यान्मिश्रकं श्यामशुभ्रकम् ॥ 153.
 वङ्गं तिक्तोष्णकं रुक्षमीषद्र्वातप्रकोपनम् ।
 मेहश्लेष्मामयघ्नं च मेदोघ्नं क्रिमिनाशनम् ॥ 155.
 द्रावयित्वा निशायुक्ते क्षिप्तं निर्गुण्डिकारसे ।
 विशुध्यति त्रिवारेण खुरवङ्गं न संशयः ॥ 156.
 सतालिनार्कदुग्धेन लिप्त्वा वङ्गदलान्यथ ।¹
 वोधिचिञ्चात्वचः क्षारैर्दद्याल्लघुपुटानि च ॥
 मर्दयित्वा चरेद् भस्म * * * ॥ 159-160.

अथ सीसकम्—

द्रुतद्रावं महाभारं क्खेदे कृष्णसमुज्ज्वलम् ।
 पूतिगन्धं वह्निःकृष्णं शुद्धं सीसमतोऽन्यथा ॥ 171.
 पलविंशतिकं नागमधस्तीव्रानलं क्षिपेत् ।
 द्रुते नागे क्षिपेत् सूतं शुद्धं कर्षमितं शुभम् ॥
 विघट्य निक्षिपेत् क्षारमेकैकं हि पलं पलम् ।
 अर्जुनस्याक्षवृक्षस्य महाराजगिरेरपि ।
 दाडिमस्य मयूरस्य क्षिप्त्वा क्षारं पृथक् पृथक् ॥
 एवं विंशतिरात्राणि पचेत् तीव्रेण वह्निना ।
 त्रिघट्टयन् दृढं दोर्भ्यां लोहद्वयं प्रयत्नतः ॥
 रक्तं तज्जायते भस्म कपोतच्छायमेव वा । 175-179.

(1) न्यथ, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. and K.

शिलया रविदुग्धेन नागपत्राणि लेपयेत् ।
मारयेत् पुटयोगेन निरुत्यं जायते तथा ॥

अथ पित्तलम्—

रीतिका काकतुण्डी च द्विविधं पित्तलं भवेत् ।
सन्तप्ता काञ्चिके क्षिप्ता ताम्बाभा रीतिका मता ॥
एवं या जायते कृष्णा काकतुण्डीति सा मता ॥ 192-193.
गुर्वी मृद्वी च पीताभा साराङ्गी ताड़नक्षमा ।
मुस्त्रिग्धा मसृणाङ्गी च रीतिरेतादृशी शुभा ॥ 195.
पूतिगन्धा तथा लघ्वी रीतिर्नेष्टा रसादिषु । 196.
निम्बूरसशीलागन्धवेष्टिता पुटिताष्टधा ।
रीतिरायाति भस्मत्वं ततो योज्या यथायथम् ॥
ताम्बवन्मारणं तस्याः कृत्वा सर्वत्र योजयेत् ।

अथ कांस्यम्—

अष्टभागिन ताम्रेण द्विभागकुटिलेन च ।
विद्रुतेन भवेत् कांस्यं * * * ॥ 205.
स्त्रियते गन्धतालाभ्यां निरुत्यं पञ्चभिः पुटैः ॥ 210.

अथ वर्त्तलोहम्—

कांस्यार्करीतिलोहाहिजातं तद्वर्त्तलोहकम् ।
तदेव पञ्चलोहाख्यं लोहविद्विर्दाहृतम् ॥ 212.
स्त्रियते गन्धतालाभ्यां पुटितं वर्त्तलोहकम् । 216.

अथ षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

अथ शिष्योपनयनम् ।

आचार्यो ज्ञानवान् दक्षो रसशास्त्रविशारदः ।
मन्दमिद्धो महाधीरो निश्चलः शिववत्सलः ॥
देवीभक्तः सदाधीरो देवतायागतत्परः ।
सर्वाम्नायविशेषज्ञः कुशलो रसकर्म्मणि ॥

एवं लक्षणसंयुक्तो रसविद्यागुरुर्भवेत् ।
 गुरुभक्ताः सदाचाराः सत्यवन्तो दृढव्रताः ॥
 निरालस्याः स्वधर्मज्ञाः सदाज्ञापरिपालकाः ।
 दम्भमात्सर्यनिर्मुक्ताः कुलाचारेषु दीक्षिताः ॥
 अत्यन्तसाधकाः शान्ता मन्त्राराधनतत्पराः ।
 इत्येवलक्षणैर्युक्ताः शिष्याः स्युः कार्यसिद्धये ॥ 3-7.
 आतङ्करहिते देशे धर्मराज्ये मनोरमे ।
 उमामहेश्वरोपेते समृद्धे नगरे शुभे ॥
 कर्त्तव्यं साधनं तत्र रसराजस्य धीमता ।
 अत्यन्तोपवने रम्ये चतुर्द्वारोपशोभिते ॥
 तत्र शाला प्रकर्त्तव्या सुविस्तीर्णा मनोरमा ।
 सम्यग्वातायनोपेता दिव्यचित्रैर्विचित्रिता ॥ 13-15.
 निष्कत्रयं हेमपत्रं रसेन्द्रं नवनिष्ककम् ।
 अस्त्रेण मर्दयेद् यामं तेन लिङ्गं तु कारयेत् ॥
 तल्लिङ्गं पूजयेत् तत्र सुशुभैरुपचारकैः ॥
 लिङ्गकोटिसहस्रस्य यत् फलं सम्यगचर्नात् ।
 तत् फलं कोटिगुणितं रसलिङ्गाचर्नाद् भवेत् ॥
 ब्रह्महत्यासहस्राणि स्त्रीगोहत्यायुतानि¹ च ।
 तत्क्षणाद् विलयं यान्ति रसलिङ्गस्य दर्शनात् ॥ 19—22.
 रसविद्या² शिवेनोक्ता दातव्या साधकाय वै ।
 यथोक्तेन विधानेन गुरुणा मुदितात्मना ॥ 30.
 कोष्ठी मूषा वङ्गनाली तुषाङ्गारवनीपलाः ।
 भस्त्रिका दण्डिकानिकाः शिलाखल्वान्यूलूखलम् ॥

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(1) स्त्रीगोहत्यायुतानि च, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

(2) B. and K. read रसदीक्षा ।

अनेन मूलमन्त्रेण भैरवं तत्र पूजयेत् ।
सर्वेषां रससिद्धानां नाम सङ्कीर्तयेत् तदा ॥

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सप्तविंशतिसंख्यका रससिद्धिप्रदायकाः ।
वन्द्याः पूज्याः प्रयत्नेन ततः कुर्याद् रसार्चनम् ॥ 52-61.
हर्षयेद् द्विजदेवानां तर्पयेदिष्टदेवताः ।
कुमारीयोगिनीयोगीश्वरान् स्नेच्छकसाधकान् ॥¹ 62.
रसविद्या दृढं गोप्या मातुर्गुह्यमिव ध्रुवम् ।
भवेद् वीर्यवती गुप्ता निर्वीर्या च प्रकाशनात् ॥ 70.

अथ सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ रसशाला ।

रसशालां प्रकुर्वीत सर्ववाधाविवर्जिताम् ।
सर्वोषधमये देशे रस्यकूपसमन्विते ॥²
नानोपकरणोपेतां प्राकारेण सुशोभिताम् ॥
शालायाः पूर्वदिग्भागे स्थापयेद् रसभैरवम् ।
वङ्गिकर्माणि चाग्नेये याम्ये पाषाणकर्म च ॥
नैऋत्ये शस्त्रकर्माणि वारुणे चालनादिकम् ।
शोषणं वायुकोणे च वेधकर्मोत्तरे तथा ॥
स्थापनं सिद्धवस्तूनां प्रकुर्यादीशकोणके ।
पदार्थसंग्रहः कार्यो रससाधनहेतुकः ॥
सत्त्वपातनकोष्ठीं च सुराकोष्ठीं सुशोभनाम् ।
भूमिकोष्ठीं चलत्कोष्ठीं जलद्रोणीरनेकशः ॥
भस्त्रिकायुगलं तद्वन्नलिके वंशलोहयोः ।

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(1) स्नेच्छकसाधकान्, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B.

(2) रस्यकूप, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

करणानि विचित्राणि द्रव्याण्यपि समाहरेत् ।
 कण्डनीं पेपणीं खल्लान् द्रोणीरूपांश्च वर्तुलान् ॥
 सूक्ष्मच्छिद्रमहमाद्यां द्रव्यगालनहेतवे ।
 चालनीं च कटवाणि * * * ॥
 मूषामृतपुष्पकार्पासवनोपलकपिष्टकम् ।
 काचायोमृद्वराटानां कूपिकाचषकानि च ॥ 1-18.
 निर्लोभाः सत्यवक्तारो देवब्राह्मणपूजकाः ।
 यमिनः पथ्यभोक्तारो योजनीया रमायने ॥ 30.
 तत्तदौषधनामज्ञाः शुचयो वञ्चनोज्झिताः ।
 नानाविषयभाषाज्ञास्ते मता भेषजाहृतौ ॥ 32.

अथ अष्टमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ परिभाषा ।

कथ्यते मोमदेवेन मुग्धवैद्यप्रबुद्धये ।
 परिभाषा रसेन्द्रस्य शास्त्रैः सिद्धैश्च भाषिता ॥ 1.
 अङ्गं मिद्धरसस्य तैलघृतयोर्लोहस्य भागोऽष्टमः
 मंसिद्धाखिललोहचूर्णवटकादीनां तथा सप्तमः ।
 यो दीयेत भिषग्वराय गदिभिर्निर्दिश्य धन्वन्तरिं
 सर्वारोग्यसुखामये निगदितो भागः स धन्वन्तरिः ॥ 2.
 धातुभिर्गन्धकाद्यैश्च निर्द्रवैर्मर्दितो रसः ।
 सुश्लक्ष्णः कज्जलाभोऽसौ कज्जलीत्यभिधीयते ॥
 मद्रवा मर्दिता सैव रसपङ्क इति स्मृतः ॥ 5-6.
 मृतं तरति यत् तोये लोहं वारितरं हि तत् ।
 अङ्गुष्ठतर्जनीघृष्टं यत् तदूरेखान्तरं¹ विशेत् ॥
 मृतं लोहं तदुद्दिष्टं रेखापूर्णाभिधानतः ॥

(1) रेखान्तर, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

गुडगुञ्जासुखस्यर्गमध्वार्ज्यैः¹ सह योजितम् ।
 नायाति प्रकृतिं धानादपुनर्भवमुच्यते ॥
 तस्योपरि गुरुद्रव्यं धान्यं चोपनयेद् ध्रुवम् ।
 हंसवत् तीर्यते वारिण्युत्तमं परिकीर्त्तितम् ॥ 25-28.
 रौप्येण सह संयुक्तं धातं रौप्ये² न चेन्नगत् ।
 तदा निरुत्यमित्युक्तं लोहं तदपुनर्भवम् ॥ 29.
 तीक्ष्णं नीलाञ्जनोपेतं धातं हि बहुशो दृढम् ।
 मृदुक्कणं द्रुतद्रावं वरनागं³ तदुच्यते ॥ 38.
 मृतस्य पुनरुद्भूतिः संप्रोक्तोत्थापनाख्यया । 39.
 इयन्मानस्य सूतस्य भोज्यद्रव्यात्मिका मतिः ।
 इयतीत्युच्यते यासौ ग्राममानमितीरितम् ॥ 64.
 चतुःषड्यंशतो वीजप्रज्ञेपो मुखमुच्यते ।
 एवंकृते रसो ग्रामलोलुपो मुखवान् भवेत् ॥
 कठिनान्यपि लोहानि क्षमो भवति भक्षितुम् ॥ 68-69.
 लेपः क्षेपश्च कुन्तश्च धूमाख्यः शब्दसंज्ञकः ।
 लेपेन कुरुते लोहं स्वर्णं वा रजतं तथा ॥ 80.
 वह्नी धूमायमानेऽन्तः प्रक्षिपरसधूमतः ।
 स्वर्णाद्यापादनं लोहे धूमवेधः सं ईरितः ॥ 83.
 मुखस्थितरमेनाल्पलोहस्य दमनात् खलु ।
 स्वर्णरूप्यत्वजननं शब्दवेधः स कीर्त्तितः ॥ 84.
 रसनियममहाख्येः सोमदेवः समन्तात्
 स्फुटतरपरिभाषानामरत्नानि हत्वा ।

(1) Cf. श्रुतमधुगुञ्जाटङ्गेः समं लोहभस्म सदर्पयेन्न विचक्षणः ।
 धमेद् वह्नी यदा पुनर्लोहभावं न गच्छेत् तदा योज्यं रमायने ॥
 लोहभावं यदा गच्छेत् तं पुनर्मारयेत् मधीः ।

रसचन्द्रिका जारणभारणाध्यायः ।

(2) We have adopted the reading in B. and K. The Poona ed., however reads रौप्येण चेन्नगत्, which from the chemical point of view, is untenable.

(3) वरनागं, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B.

व्यरचयदतियत्नात् तैरिमां कण्ठमालां
कलयतु ¹ भिषगग्र्यो मण्डनार्थं सभायाम् ॥ 89.

अथ नवमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ यन्त्राणि ।

अथ यन्त्राणि वक्ष्यन्ते रसतन्त्राण्यशेषतः ।

समालोकाय समासेन सोमदेवेन साम्प्रतम् ॥ 1.

अथ दोलायन्त्रम्—

द्रवद्रव्येन भाण्डस्य पूरितार्द्धोदरस्य च ।

मुखमुभयतो द्वारद्वयं कृत्वा प्रयत्नतः ॥ 3.

तयोस्तु निक्षिपेद् दण्डं तन्मध्ये रसपोटलीम् ।

बद्धा तु स्वेदयेदेतद् दोलायन्त्रमिति स्मृतम् ॥ 4.

अथ स्वेदनीयन्त्रम्—

साम्बुस्थालीमुखावडे वस्त्रे पाक्यं निवेशयेत् ।

पिपाय पच्यते यत्र स्वेदनी यन्त्रमुच्यते ॥ 5.

अथ पातनायन्त्रम्—

अष्टाङ्गुलपरिणाहमानाहेन दशाङ्गुलम् ।

चतुरङ्गुलकोत्सेधं तोयाधारं गलादधः ॥

अधोभाण्डे मुखं तस्य भाण्डस्योपरिवर्त्तिनः ।

षोडशाङ्गुलविस्तीर्णं पृष्ठस्यास्ये प्रवेशयेत् ॥

पार्श्वयोर्महिषीक्षीरचूर्णमण्डूरफाणितैः ।

लिप्त्वा विशोषयेत् सन्धिं जलाधारे जलं क्षिपेत् ।

चुल्लग्रामारोपयेदेतत् पातनायन्त्रमीरितम् ॥ 6-8.

अथाधःपातनायन्त्रम्—

अथोर्द्ध्वाभाजने ² लिप्तं स्थापितस्य जले सुधीः ।

दीप्तैर्वनोपलैः कुर्यादधःपातं प्रयत्नतः ॥ 9.

(1) कलयतु, another reading in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

(2) K. reads अथ, which we have retained.

अथ दीपिकायन्त्रम्—

कच्छपयन्त्रान्तर्गतमृन्मयपीटस्थदीपिकासंस्थः ।

यस्मिन्निपतति सूतः प्रोक्तं तद्दीपिकायन्त्रम् ॥ 10.

अथ ढेकीयन्त्रम्—

भाण्डकण्ठादधश्चिद्रे वेणुनालं विनिक्षिपेत् ।

कांखपात्रद्वयं कृत्वा संपुटं जलगर्भितम् ॥

नलिकास्यं तत्र योज्यं दृढं तच्चापि कारयेत्

युक्तद्रव्यैर्विनिक्षिप्तः पूर्वं तत्र घटे रसः ।

अग्निना तापितो नालात् तोये तस्मिन् पतत्यधः ॥

यावदुष्णं भवेत् सर्वं भाजनं तावदेव हि ।

जायते रससंधानं ढेकीयन्त्रमितीरितम् ॥ 11-14.

अथ वालुकायन्त्रम्—

सरसां गूढवक्त्रां मृदुवस्त्राङ्गुलघनावृताम् ।

शोषितां काचकलसीं पूरयेत् त्रिषु भागयोः ॥

भाण्डे वितस्तिगम्भीरे वालुका सुप्रतिष्ठिता ।

तद्भाण्डं पूरयेत् त्रिभिरन्याभिरवगुण्ठयेत् ॥

भाण्डवक्त्रं माणिक्या सन्धिं लिपेन्मृदा पचेत् ।

चूल्पां लणस्य चादाहान्माणिकापृष्ठवर्त्तिनः ॥

एतच्च वालुकायन्त्रं तद् यन्त्रं लवणाश्रयम् ॥ 34-36.

अथ लवणयन्त्रम्—

एवं लवणनिक्षेपात् प्रोक्तं लवणयन्त्रकम् । 38.

अथ नालिकायन्त्रम्—

लोहनालं गतं सूतं भाण्डे लवणपूरिते ।

निरुद्धं विपचेत् प्राग्वन्ननालिकायन्त्रमीरितम् ॥ 41.

अथ तिर्यक्पातनयन्त्रम्—

क्षिपेद् रसं घटे दीर्घनताधोनालसंयुते ।¹

तन्नालं निक्षिपेदन्यघटकुक्ष्यन्तरे खलु ॥

(1) दीर्घनताधी, a variant in the Poona ed., which also agrees with B. & K.

तत्र रुद्धा मृदा सम्यग् वदने घटयोरधः ।
 अधस्ताद् रसकुम्भस्य ज्वालयेत् तीव्रपावकम् ॥
 इतरस्मिन् घटे तोयं प्रक्षिपेत् स्वादुशीतलम् ।
 तिर्यक्पातनमेतद्धि वार्त्तिकैरभिधीयते ॥ 48-50.

अथ हिङ्गुलाकृष्टिविद्याधरयन्त्रम्—

स्थालिकोपरि विन्यस्य स्थालीं सम्यङ्निरुध्य च ।
 ऊर्ध्वस्थाल्यां जलं क्षिप्त्वा वज्रं प्रज्वालयेदधः ॥
 एतद् विद्याधरं यन्त्रं हिङ्गुलाकृष्टिहेतवे ॥ 57-58.

अथ धूपयन्त्रम्—

विधायाष्टाङ्गुलं पात्रं लौहमष्टाङ्गुलोच्छ्रयम् ।
 कण्ठाधो द्वङ्गुले देशे गलाधारे हि तत्र च ॥
 तिर्यग्लोहशलाकाश्च तन्वीस्तिर्यग्विनिक्षिपेत् ।
 तनूनि स्वर्णपत्राणि तासामुपरि विन्यसेत् ॥
 पात्राधो निक्षिपेद् धूमं वक्ष्यमाणमिहैव हि ।
 तत् पात्रं न्युजपात्रेण छादयेदपरेण हि ॥
 मृदा विलिप्य सन्धिं च वज्रं प्रज्वालयेदधः ।
 तेन पत्राणि कृत्स्नानि¹ हतान्युक्तविधानतः ॥

* * * * *

गन्धालकशिलानां हि कज्जल्या वा मृताहिना ॥
 धूपनं स्वर्णपत्राणां प्रथमं परिकीर्तितम् ।
 तारार्थं तारपत्राणि मृतवज्रेण धूपयेत् ॥
 धूपयेच्च यथायोग्यैरन्यैरुपरमैरपि ।
 धूपयन्त्रमिदं प्रोक्तं जारणाद्रव्यसाधनम् ॥ 70-76.

(1) कृत्स्नानि, another reading in the Poona ed., which we have accepted.

अथ दशमोऽध्यायः ।

अथ मूषादिकथनम् ।

मृत्तिका पाण्डुरस्थूला शर्करा शोणपाण्डुरा ।

चिराद्धानमहा सा हि मूषार्थमतिशस्यते ॥

तदभावे हि वाल्मीकी कौलाली वा समीर्यते ॥

या मृत्तिका दग्धतुषैः शणेन शिखितकैर्वा हयलद्दिना च ।

लोह्नेन दण्डेन च कुट्टिता सा साधारणी स्यात् ¹ खलु मूषिकार्थम् ॥ 5-6.

अथ पुटानि—

लोहादेरपुनर्भावो गुणाधिक्यं ततोऽग्रता ।

अनपसुमज्जनं रेखापूर्णता पुटतो भवेत् ॥ 51.

निम्ने विस्तरतः कुण्डे द्विहस्ते चतुरस्रके ।

वनोत्पलसहस्रेण पूरिते पुटनौषधम् ॥

कोष्ठान् ² रुद्धं प्रयत्नेन पिष्टिकोपरि निक्षिपेत् ।

वनोत्पलसहस्राङ्गं कोष्ठिकोपरि विन्यसेत् ॥

वज्रं प्रज्वालयेत् तत्र महापुटमिदं स्मृतम् । 54-55.

सुवर्णं रजतं ताम्रं त्रपु सीसकमायसम् ।

यङ्गतानि च लोहानि कृत्रिमे कांस्यपित्तले ॥ 70.

लवणानि षडुच्यन्ते सामुद्रं सैन्धवं विडम् ।

मौवर्चलं रोमकं च चूलिकालवणं तथा ॥

क्षारत्रयं समाख्यातं यवमर्जिकटङ्कणम् ॥ 71.

* * * * *

जम्बूकमण्डूकवसा वसा कच्छपसम्भवा ।

कर्कोटी शिशुमारी च गोशूकरनरोद्भवा ।

अजोद्भवरमेधानां महिषस्य वसा तथा ॥ 75-77.

(1) स्यात् and मूषिकार्थम् are two different readings in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

(2) कोष्ठान्, a variant in the Poona ed., which we have adopted.

मूत्राणि हस्तिकरभमहिषीखरवाजिनाम् ।
 गोजावीनां स्त्रियः पुंसां पुष्यं वीजं तु योजयेत् ॥ 78.
 चाङ्गेरीचणकाम्लं च अम्लिकं कोलदाडिमम् ।
 अम्बुष्टा तित्तिडीकं च नारङ्गं रसपत्रिका ।
 करवन्दं तथा चान्यदम्बुवर्गः प्रकीर्तितः ॥
 चणकाम्लश्च सर्वेषामेक एव प्रशस्यते ॥
 अम्बुवेतसमेकं वा सर्वेषामुत्तमोत्तमम् ।
 रसादीनां विशुद्धार्थं द्रावणे जारणे हितम् ॥
 कोलदाडिमवृक्षाम्लबुल्लिकानुक्रिकारसम् ।
 पञ्चाम्लकं समुद्दिष्टं तच्चोक्तं चाम्लपञ्चकम् ॥ 80-84.
 इष्टिका गैरिका लोणं भस्म वल्मीकमृत्तिका ।
 रसप्रयोगकुशलैः कीर्त्तिताः पञ्चमृत्तिकाः ॥ 85.
 शृङ्गीकं कालकूटं च वत्सनाभं सक्वचिम् ।
 पित्तं च विषवर्गोऽयं स वरः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥ 86.
 लाङ्गली विषमुष्टिश्च करवीरजटा तथा ।
 नलिकः कनकोऽर्कश्च वर्गो ह्युपविषात्मकः ॥ 88.
 गुडगुग्गुलुगुञ्जाज्यसारघैष्टङ्गणान्वितैः ।
 दुर्द्रावाखिललोहादेर्द्रावणाय गणो मतः ॥ 100.

अथैकादशोऽध्यायः ।

अथ रसशोधनादिकथनम् ।

रसार्णवादिवास्त्राणि निरीक्ष्य कथितं मया ।
 रसोपयोगि यत् किञ्चिद्दिङ्मात्रं तत् प्रदर्शितम् ।
 अधुना रसरराजस्य संस्कारान् संप्रचक्ष्महे ॥ 10.
 विषं वक्त्रिर्मलश्चेति दोषा नैसर्गिकास्तयः ।
 योगिकौ नागवङ्गी द्वौ * * * ॥

तस्मात् सूतविधानार्थं सहायैर्निपुणैर्युतः । 14-15.

सर्वोपस्कारमादाय रसकर्म समाचरेत् ॥ 20.

द्वे जहस्त्रे पलानां तु महस्त्रं शतमेव वा ।

अष्टाविंशत् पलान्येव दश पञ्चैकमेव वा ॥

पलार्द्धेनैव कर्तव्यः संस्कारः सूतकस्य च ॥

सुदिने शुभनक्षत्रे रसशोधनमाचरेत् ॥ 21-22.

रसस्तु पादांशसुवर्णजोर्णः पिष्टीकृतो गन्धयोगतश्च ।

तुल्यांशगन्धैः पुटितः क्रमेण निर्वीजनामा सकलामयघ्नः ॥ 72.

पिष्टीकृतैरभ्रकसत्त्वहेमतारार्ककान्तैः परिजारितो यः ।

हतस्त्वतः षड्गुणगन्धकेन स वीजबद्धो विपुलप्रभावः ॥ 73.

काकोदुम्बरिकाया दुग्धेन सुभावितो हिङ्गुः ।

मर्दनपुटेन विधिना सूतं भस्मौकरोत्येव ॥ 111.

देवदालीं हरिक्रान्तानारजालेन पेषयेत् ।

तद्द्रवैः समधा सूतं कुर्यान्मर्दितमूर्च्छितम् ॥

तत्सूतं खर्परे दद्याद्दत्त्वा दत्त्वा तु तद्ववम् ।

चुल्लुपरि पचेच्चाक्ला भस्म स्याल्लवणोपम् ॥ 112-113.

अपामार्गस्य वीजानि तथैरण्डस्य चूर्णयेत् ।

तच्चूर्णं पारदे देयं मूषायामधरोत्तरम् ॥

रुद्धा लघुपुटैः पश्चाच्चतुर्भिर्भस्मतां नयेत् । 114-115.

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